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Rawlier Arnold. Quammie
University of Windsor

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IRANIAN INFLUENCE IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL
AN ASSESSMENT OF THE EVIDENCE

by
RAWLIER ARNOLD QUARMIE

A Thesis
submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the department of
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of the requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts at
The University of Windsor

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1978

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ABSTRACT

It has been the view of many Biblical scholars that the Jewish Apocalyptic writings were strongly influenced by Zoroastrianism in areas such as their angelology, the Son of Man figure, the notion of the Ages of the World, and the Idea of the Resurrection. On the other hand, there are many other scholars who believe that this is not so, and that the matrix of Jewish Apocalyptic is the Old Testament, coupled with borrowings or adaptations from Ancient Near Eastern, particularly Canaanite mythology.

In this Thesis we have taken one exemplar of full-blown Apocalyptic, namely, the Book of Daniel, and have endeavoured to examine the evidence for Zoroastrian influence in those four areas just mentioned. Our conclusion is as follows:

The notion of a Supreme Deity (in the case of the Book of Daniel, Yahweh or the Most High), attended by countless ministering spirits called messengers or angels, is not by any means peculiar to Zoroastrianism. This observation applies also to demonology and the notion of guardian angels of individuals, or of guardian angels or princes of the nations. Philological, Biblical, ideological and mythological comparisons have shown that the background of the Danielic angelology and the Son of Man figure, is decidedly Biblical and ultimately Canaanite.

The evidence for an Iranian background for the notion of the Metallic Ages of the world has been found to be weak, and our investigation has shown that the balance tilts heavily in favour of Greek (Hesiodic) influence, and perhaps even Babylonian influence ultimately. Furthermore, it is not an implausible view that even the Iranian Metallic Ages may well have been indebted to the Hesiodic Ages.

Finally, the differences between the idea of the resurrection that we have in the Book of Daniel, and the Zoro-

astrian one are so wide that dependence of the former on the latter is not a reasonable postulate. The Old Testament provides a sufficiently reasonable matrix for the Danielic resurrection doctrine. Far from being the reproduction of Iranian beliefs, this doctrine was forged during the time, and under the stress of, a religious emergency when the faithful Jews were being fiercely persecuted during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes on account of their ancestral faith. This is true also of the resurrection belief found in the contemporary Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic writings, and also of the Isaiah Apocalypse.

The resurrection doctrine was a postulate of faith, and the way was prepared for it through the conviction that the deep, personal and intimate fellowship with God which the pious Jew enjoyed on earth, could not indeed be broken by death. The way was prepared also by the faith that God, in his wisdom, and by his power, would ultimately redress the imbalance in the sphere of retributive justice.

This Thesis is dedicated to the Faculty
and Students of the former Union Theol-
ogical Seminary, Caenwood, Kingston,
Jamaica, West Indies, in deep gratitude
for innumerable happy experiences.

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CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

It is now the general scholarly view of the provenance of the Book of Daniel, that, as a literary composition, it is the product of the second century (ca 165-64) B.C., and that it is the prototype of a corpus of Jewish religious writings of the same general stamp as such writings as I Enoch, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, The Psalms of Solomon, and others, to which the general designation "Apocalyptic" has been given.

All these works show certain formal and phenomenological characteristics which mark them out from such Biblical writings as the Pentateuch, the Prophets, the Wisdom writings, and the Psalms. It is fair to say that there exists a discipline of the study of Apocalypticism precisely because there exists also such a body of writings which can be, and have been made, the subject of the concentrated study of scholars.

We are indebted to those scholars for their painstaking work over the years. However we are not concerned here with the individual characteristics of these writings, as with their general and cumulative impression. All these works, it is agreed, were produced during the Hellenistic period of Jewish History, and that, starting with the Book of Daniel, they constitute a sort of "resistance" literature written by Jews for fellow-Jews who were facing sharp persecution for their ancestral faith.

Much ferment in the study of Apocalyptic in the last two decades has centred not only on the theology, but also on its origin, religious outlook, and sociological background. On the question of origin or of sociological background, one school of thought has maintained that Apocalypticism is the product of the Persian period of Jewish History, and that it represents a foreign intrusion into orthodox religious thought. For instance, Martin Rist asserts that

it is a type of religious thought which apparently originated in Zoroastrianism, the ancient Persian religion; taken over by Judaism in the exilic and post-exilic periods, and mediated by Judaism to early Christianity. Taking firm roots there, it has continued as an important element in popular Christian belief down to the present. 1

With this view R. Murdock seems to agree when he says

That the religion of Israel, which had so recently attained the status of a truly monotheistic faith should shift to dualism is an anomaly in the history of ideas, and cannot be understood apart from the simultaneous shift to eschatology. Dualism and eschatology belong together, for they constitute the two foci of a single theological system. Together they form the core of Zoroastrianism, and they were taken up together by Apocalypticism under Iranian influence. 2

These are strong statements, and this position has been attacked by Paul Hanson, who would deny to Zoroastrianism any major formative influence. Thus he states

The Apocalyptic literature of the second century and after is the result of a long development, reaching back to pre-exilic times and beyond, and not the new baby of second century foreign parents. Not only the source of origin, but the intrinsic nature of late apocalyptic compositions, can be understood only by tracing the centuries-long development through which the apocalyptic literature developed from prophetic and even more archaic native roots... Influences from Persian dualism and Hellenism were late, coming only after the essential character of apocalyptic was fully developed, and were thus limited to peripheral embellishments. 3

This thesis Hanson develops in the rest of his article, and especially in his recent work, The Dawn of Apocalyptic.⁴ Other scholars at one time or another have tried to trace the literary and religious development of Jewish thought from prophetic preaching and beyond, to full-blown apocalyptic writing in the second century B.C.⁵ In this endeavour they have tried to show how the Jewish Apocalyptic writers (including the author of the Book of Daniel), were heirs

to a long historical and religious tradition in which mingled Prophetic, Wisdom, Deuteronomic and even Mesopotamian and Canaanite currents.

In this Thesis we shall take one exemplar of full-blown apocalyptic, the Book of Daniel, and we shall endeavour to assess the evidence for Zoroastrian influence in the areas of its angelology, the Son of Man figure, the Idea of the Metallic Ages and the Idea of the Resurrection.

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CHAPTER II - THE ANGELOLOGY

1. Persian Angelology

Persian angelology presents itself to us as the respective armies of two opposing forces arranged in battle fashion and representing the kingdom of good and the kingdom of evil. The former is headed by Ahura Mazda, the God and Lord of Iran, the Lord of good, light and truth, who sits on his heavenly throne surrounded by a company of ministering spirits or angels who continually do his bidding in his relentless war against evil. The latter is headed by Angra Mainyu, the high prince of the evil spirits and demons by whom he is surrounded and who do his bidding. He is the counterpart of Ahura Mazda against whose kingdom he continually wages war.¹

Ahura Mazda is the Lord of wisdom, the sovereign whose primary characteristics are knowledge and intelligence. He is all-wise, omniscient, benign, bounteous, righteous, unchanging, undeceiving and undeceived. His throne is in the heavens in the realm of eternal light, and his presence is manifested by splendour and glory. The watchful guardian and protector, he is not only the father and creator of all good things, but he is also the creator of light, the dispenser of rewards and punishments, and he is surrounded by a host of obedient servants. However, although he is omniscient and omnipresent, he is nonetheless not omnipotent. He is hampered and limited in his action by Angra Mainyu, his co-equal, who will, however, be finally vanquished at the end of the millenium when evil will be banished from the world and Ahura Mazda will be all in all.²

Next to Ahura Mazda, there are the Amesha Spentas or archangels of Zoroastrianism, also styled the Immortal Holy Ones or the Beneficent or Bounteous Immortals. They are six in number, and together with Ahura Mazda, they constitute the heavenly inner council. Their names are personifications of abstract concepts or virtues, such as Good

Thought, Best Righteousness, Wished-for Kingdom, Bountiful Devotion, Saving Health, and Immortality. In heaven they sit before the throne of Ahura Mazda, three on either side, and they are ranged according to age or sex. Ahura Mazda is their father and creator, and acts through them to whom he has entrusted the guardianship of the various elements in the world, that is, the care of animals, fire, the metals, the earth, the waters and plants. The Amesha Spentas are worthy of, and do receive, special worship in the Zoroastrian ritual, and they are said to sit on thrones of gold. In the pontifical calendar a special holy day is accorded each of them, and flowers, appropriate to each, are also assigned to them. Each Amesha has an arch-fiend against whom he or she contends in the relentless struggle with evil, but this opponent will be vanquished at the time of the resurrection and at the judgement.³

Next in rank to the Amesha Spentas are the Yazatas or angels. They are also called the Adorable Beings or the Worshipful Ones. They, too, serve to execute Ahura Mazda's will to mankind, a will which they endeavour to carry out in detail. They are referred to as legion - hundreds of thousands-, but the only prominent ones are those to whom a day in the month is assigned as a holy day, and to whom a special season or form of ritual worship is consecrated. They are said to be twenty-four in number, and they are divided into two classes, the spiritual and the material. The Yazatas are the guardian spirits of the sun, moon, stars, heaven, earth, air, fire and water, and they are personifications of such abstract ideas as victory, blessing, truth, uprightness, peace, power, and so on.⁴

There follow the Fravashis or genii, sorts of guardian angels who are united with the human soul at death. They are described as "the pre-existent external souls of all good men and women"... "on whom the very maintenance of the cosmos depends".⁵ R.C. Zaehner sums up their function thus:

It is through their might and glory that the Wise Lord is able to sustain heaven and earth, through them that he spread out the earth, through them that he causes the water to flow, the plants to grow, and the wind to blow, and through them that the foetus can grow unharmed in its mother's womb, and through them that sun, moon, and stars follow their proper courses.⁶

To them also special worship is given, particularly on the nineteenth day of each month, as well as during the last ten days of the year; and the first month of the year is sacred to their name.⁷

In addition to all these, there are a number of lesser divinities associated with the various Yazatas. These divinities are auxiliaries or fellow-workers of the angels and, like them, are personifications of virtues.⁸

Finally, there are some fabulous or mythical creatures such as a three-legged ass of stupendous size, which helps to promote the proper management of the world; an ox whose fat is used along with the haoma juice to prepare ambrosia at the resurrection; a righteous minotaur, half man and half ox; and fabulous birds.⁹

The other wing of the Zoroastrian dualism, and corresponding to the celestial hierarchy, is the opposition to the principle of goodness and light of the principle of evil and wrong personified by Angra Mainyu and his cohort. Angra Mainyu is the "devil" of Ancient Iran, and he represents the principle of evil. Whether he is thought of as emanating from Ahura Mazda or not, he is for the time being at least Ahura Mazda's co-equal in power, with the qualification that his sway will not be eternal like that of Ahura Mazda's, since the kingdom of evil will be ultimately annihilated by the kingdom of good.

Angra Mainyu is the wicked one or the evil teacher, perverse and harmful, and dedicated to the ruin of the

world. When the world of goodness was created, he took up a hostile stance against it and sought to blight it by calling forth some evil creation to off-set anything good that Ahura Mazda created. His abode is in endless darkness, but he will be vanquished at last in the final battle in the day of judgement when he and his band will be utterly destroyed.¹⁰

Next in line after Angra Mainyu are the Daevas or demons, or sorts of malevolent creatures. They spring from Evil Thought, from the Fiend, and from Wrongmindedness. Angra Mainyu is their father and creator, and they help him in his war against mankind. They are said to lie in wait, ready to pounce upon anyone who comes within their power and influence. They are legion and are personifications of sins, distresses and diseases. The most important of their number are the six arch-demons, infernal counterparts of the Amesha Spentas. More terrible than them all is Aeshma, or the demon of wrath, fury and rapine, who is also the leader of assaults and violence. It is he who contrives evil for the followers of Ahura Mazda, and he even stirs up strife among the demons themselves on certain occasions. He is held in check, however, by Shraosha, the incarnation of religious obedience and devotion. This Shraosha will overthrow Aeshma in the final battle between the archangels and the archdemons.¹¹

Besides the Daevas, there are the Drujes, the Pairikas Yatus and similar evil beings, fiends, enchantresses, sorcerers, and hideous monsters all of whom represent the principle and kingdom of wickedness.¹²

Finally, there are also monsters and fabulous creatures of awful and horrible proportions, who are the counterparts of the fabulous creatures of the angelic hierarchy.¹³

The picture presented here is that of two hierarchies, highly developed and properly graded in organization. They

represent the kingdoms of good and evil between whom the lines are sharply drawn. They face each other, man to man, as it were, in incessant and relentless struggle. Their chiefs are co-equal and there is no inter-relationship between such irreconcilable camps.

E.Langton has strongly suggested the idea of Zoroastrian influence on Jewish Angelology, especially in the sphere of guardian angels, as this quotation will illustrate.

In Persian angelology frequent allusions are made to angels who exercise guardian functions over nations and other communities, as well as over individuals. These angels are said to help armies to achieve victory upon the battle-field (Yasht xiii.23,37,40). It is natural therefore to suppose that this novel conception of angels set over nations has entered Jewish angelology from Persia, and that it found its way into the current of Jewish thought during the period of close contact between the Jewish and Persian peoples some centuries before the Book of Daniel was written. 14

George William Carter also suggests that Persian angelology, as described in the preceding pages, has strongly influenced Jewish angelology, especially in the notion of the Watchers or Holy Ones, and guardian angels. He also sees Persian influence in Jewish demonology.¹⁵ In the light of all this therefore, we must now examine the Danielic angelology and offer an assessment of the evidence.

2. The Danielic Angelology

The references to angels and the ministries of angelic powers in the Book of Daniel are found in Chapters, 3, 4, 6, and 7-12. We shall give first a summary of each chapter or episode in which angels are mentioned, in order to see them in perspective, and then we shall offer a critique.

(a) Chapter 3

King Nebuchadnezzar erected a golden image which he required all his subjects to worship on pain of death (vv 1-7). Daniel's three companions, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, refused to participate in the heathen rite and this was reported to the King who, in a fit of rage, commanded them to be cast into a fiery furnace. The king made sure at the same time that the necessary steps were taken to prevent the escape of the three Jews (vv 8-23). They were cast into the furnace, but they did not perish; the three of them were saved by a godlike personage whom the King described as "a son of the gods" (v 25), and as an "angel" (v 28). Thereafter Nebuchadnezzar recognized the sovereignty of the God of the Jews, and promoted the three companions to higher civic offices (vv 26-30).

The Aramaic expression used here for angel is Bar Elahin (ܒܪ ܐܠܗܝܢ), which the king interpreted as a malacheh (ܡܠܚܐ) meaning messenger or angel. These words correspond to the Hebrew words Bene Elohim (בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים) or "Sons of God", and malak (מַלְאֲכִים) or angel, or messenger. These are common Semitic concepts, and the designation malak "was appropriate to common West Semitic diction as expressing an appearance form of deity".¹⁶ As such it occurs in phrases like "Angel of Ashtart" (ܡܠܚܐ ܕܐܫܬܪܬ), and "Angel of Baal" (ܡܠܚܐ ܕܒܥܠ).¹⁷ Bene Elohim is one of the designations of angels in the Old Testament, and in this sense it occurs for instance in Job 1:6, 2:1, 38:7; Gen. 6:2, 4; Psalms 29:1, 89:7 and 138:1.¹⁸ It is also used of heavenly beings, members of the heavenly court or assembly of Yahweh.¹⁹ Malak, the word used for angel, is used for messengers sent out by human potentates, as well as for human and celestial messengers sent out by God.²⁰

Furthermore, there is good Ancient Near Eastern background for the designations Bene Elohim or Bene Elim, and

malak. The former appears as ilm, bn ilm, and bn qdsh; and the latter precisely as mlk in Ugaritic texts,²¹ The conclusion therefore, is that there is nothing here which suggests a specifically Iranian background for the angelology of Daniel 3.

(b) Chapter 4

King Nebucahdnezzar had a fearful dream which his magicians were not able to interpret. In that dream he saw a great tree whose top reached to heaven, a tree with fair leaves and abundant fruit, and whose branches provided shelter for beasts and birds alike (vv 1-12). At this point a "watcher, a holy one, came down from heaven" (v 13), and commanded that the tree be hewn down, its branches be cut off, its leaves be stripped and its fruit be scattered, so that it would no longer provide shelter for the beasts and birds. The stump was to remain, however; it would share the lot of the beasts, and would be given a beast's mind. The sentence was "by the decree of the watchers, the decision by the word of the holy ones" (v 17), in order to instruct the king in the way of humility and to cure him of his arrogance (vv 13-18).

Daniel interpreted the dream as predicting the king's imminent insanity, and stated that this was by the decree of the Most High, communicated through a watcher, a holy one, coming down from heaven (v 23). Daniel urged the king to stop his iniquities and to practise righteousness instead, in order to experience a lightening of his ordeal (vv 19-27). The rest of the chapter relates how Nebuchadnezzar was humbled and disciplined, it relates his conversion and subsequent restoration by God whom he praised as the King of heaven (vv 28-37).

The word watcher in this text translates the Aramaic ir (ܐܝܪ), and is related to the Hebrew word ur (אור) which conveys the idea of watchfulness or wakefulness, and ir (איר) has been rendered by Brown, Driver and Briggs as "watchers of heaven as keeping watch over or spying out".²²

In the text before us the watcher is definitely represented as a holy one, one of the qadishin (קָדִישִׁין) or holy beings, members of the angelic category. The root idea is biblical since in Ezekiel reference is made to the eyes of the Cherubs (Ezk.1), and in Zechariah, to the "seven which are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth" (Zech. 4:10). Isaiah refers to a summons to a watcher or watchers, hasshomerim (שׁוֹמְרֵי), and to the "remembrancers of the Lord" (זִכְרוֹנֵי יְהוָה). This suggests a heavenly cast similar to the watchers of Daniel.²³ Arthur Jeffery identifies the watchers as a sort of heavenly council, and Norman Porteous, as well as W. Heidt give the same interpretation.²⁴ Thus we are in the presence of a heavenly or angelic being, a member of the divine council, who has been sent out by God to the King to communicate to him his decree. Once again, there is nothing specifically Iranian in this, but in this case everything points to a Biblical and Semitic background.

(c) Chapter 6

This chapter is similar in many respects to chapter 3, the difference being here that there was a definite plot to secure the downfall of the seer.

King Darius appointed 120 satrapies throughout his realm, and appointed over them three presidents, one of whom was Daniel, whom the king intended ultimately to appoint chief over the entire kingdom (vv 1-3). This aroused the jealousy of Daniel's associates, and they contrived to secure some firm accusation against him on the score of his religion. So they obtained from the king an irrevocable decree which demanded that for thirty days no one was to ask a petition of any god or man save of the king (vv 4-9). Daniel ignored the decree, and so the conspirators denounced him before the king who reluctantly had him cast into the den of lions (vv 10-18).

But the very next morning Darius found Daniel alive and safe and unharmed by the lions. Thereupon he delivered Daniel's accusers to the very fate they had plotted for him. Finally, Darius published a decree acknowledging Daniel's God, and requiring the people to honour him (vv 19-28).

Daniel's deliverance was attributed to an angel sent by God for this purpose:

My God sent his angel and shut the lions' mouths, and they have not hurt me because I was found blameless before him; and also before you, O King, I have done no wrong. (Dan. 6::22).

The same exegesis as was applied to Chapter 3, applies to this chapter as well.²⁵

(d) Chapter 7.

The scene takes place in heaven where Daniel sees the Ancient of Days resplendent in white garments, sitting on his throne, with countless ministering spirits who stand around and before him as the heavenly court sits in judgement. Other thrones are placed and the books are brought out and are opened (vv 9-10). The Neo-Babylonian, Median, Persian and Greek kingdoms, represented respectively by a lion, a bear, a leopard and an indescribable beast, rise and pass before the Ancient of Days who judges them and decides in favour of the saints of the Most High. The first three beasts are deprived of their power and dominion, although they are spared final destruction for the time being. The fourth beast, representing the kingdom of Greece, is slain and its body is given over to be burned in fire (vv 1-8, 11-12).

Then appears with the clouds of heaven, one like a son of man, who is brought before the Ancient of Days, and to whom is given eternal dominion and glory, and an eternal kingdom. To him all peoples and nations are to render service (vv 13-14). At Daniel's request one of the ministering angels interprets the vision, dwelling on the barbarity and

wickedness of the Greek King. After his defeat, the kingdom is given to the people of the saints of the Most High.²⁶

There is nothing specifically Zoroastrian here either. The idea of a divine heavenly council, or heavenly assembly is a familiar one in the Old Testament where several passages depict angels or heavenly beings who form a sort of senate or council presided over by Yahweh. He confers or deliberates with his entourage on matters terrestrial and celestial. A few passages will illustrate this:

i.1 Kings 22::19-23

Micaiah ben Imla tells Kings Ahab and Jehoshaphat how he had seen Yahweh enthroned and all the host of heaven standing by him to his right and to his left, in the posture of obedient servants. Yahweh declared his purpose to the assembly, and that was to deceive Ahab and to bring him to his death at Ramoth Gilead. He asked for a volunteer to carry out this scheme, and after several suggestions, the lying spirit offered to be the deceiver of Ahab and his prophets.²⁷

ii. Job 1::6-12; 2::1-6

The Divine Council is in session and the subject of their deliberations is Job's integrity. After some argument as to the genuineness of that integrity, Yahweh twice grants permission to Satan to put Job to the test.²⁸

iii. Psalm 82

The Council of Yahweh is the subject of the entire Psalm which sets forth in vivid poetical language the responsibility of heavenly beings to the Supreme Being or Judge, Yahweh (El). It is pointed out clearly to them that they are Yahweh's representatives and that they must acknowledge that they derive their authority from him. Yahweh takes his place as judge in the assembly and his delegates appear before

his tribunal. He sternly upbraids them for their maladministration of justice, and at the same time he reminds them of their duties such as the defence of the poor and the orphan, just dealings with the afflicted, the poor and the needy, deliverance from the hands of the wicked of the oppressed persons (vv 2-4). However, these gods appear to be incapable of reformation and as a result of their misconduct the foundations of society are shaken. The Psalm ends with a prayer that God himself will assume the government of the world (vv 5-8).²⁹

iv. Isaiah 6::1-13

The prophet sees Yahweh enthroned and attended by the seraphim. In their antiphony Yahweh's holiness and unapproachableness are declared. Isaiah cries out in despair because of his uncleanness (vv 1-5). One of the seraphim comes to him and cauterizes his lips, and later declares to the prophet that his iniquity and his sins are expiated (vv 6-7). Thereupon the prophet hears Yahweh addressing his council and asking for volunteers for his mission. Isaiah offers himself for this service, he is admitted to the deliberations of the assembly, and is assigned his task as Yahweh's prophet (vv 8-13).³⁰

v. Jeremiah 23::18-22

In differentiating true from false prophets, Jeremiah alludes to the heavenly council, and asks:

Who among them has stood in the council of the
Lord
to perceive and to hear his word,
or who has given heed to his word and listened?
But if they had stood in my council,
then they would have proclaimed
my words to my people,
and they would have turned them

from their evil way,
and from the evil of their doings. (Jer. 23::18.22)³¹

Other passages may be cited, but sufficient has been said here to show that the Old Testament provided a perfectly natural background for the Danielic notion of a heavenly council.³²

The notion of a divine assembly or council is also amply attested from the literature of the Ancient Near East, and has been treated by many scholars.³³ Chapter 7 will come up again for a detailed examination when we are dealing with the Son of Man figure in the next Chapter of this Thesis. All it is necessary to say at this stage is that there is nothing specifically Iranian in the Danielic portraiture of the heavenly council found in chapter 7. This idea may have come to Israel via Canaanite and Mesopotamian mythology in the first instance. In any case it was rooted in the mythological traditions of the Ancient Near East centuries before any known contact between Israel and Persia. It seems, then, unnecessary to look to the latter for a notion which had long since become native to the Old Testament thought to which the author of the Book of Daniel was heir. Philological parallels between the Canaanite and Jewish motifs would lead one to conclude that the influence was Canaanite.³⁴

(e) Chapter 8

This is another vision representing a similar general scene as that of chapter 7, but here the Babylonian kingdom has been omitted and the Medo-Persian and Greek kingdoms are symbolized here by a ram and a he-goat respectively. Persia is defeated by Greece, the kingdom with ten horns, and Antiochus is the little horn, the off-shoot of one of the four larger horns representing the four kingdoms into which Alexander's great Empire was partitioned after his death (vv 1-14).

Once again at Daniel's request, one of the angels asks the other, Gabriel, to interpret the vision to the seer. The interpretation centres on the person of Antiochus, who is the very embodiment of barbarity and wickedness, and who spends his fury on the people of the Most High. His power, Daniel learns, is such that no human being is able to confront him, implying that his defeat must come from beyond this world, and that God himself will intervene and subdue him (vv 15-26).

Mention is made here of a "holy one" (Q1TP TNS) who speaks, and of another holy one who replies (vv 13-14). There is also one having the appearance of a man. This must be interpreted to be an angel, since angels appeared in human form.³⁵ The angelus interpres of verse 16 is called Gabriel. Holy one is one of the designations for a member of the divine assembly, and we learn that the expression ad matai (אֲדַמַּי), how long? is an "antique expression of religion, appearing constantly in Babylonian penitentials",³⁶ and that "it became a standard element in apocalyptic, but it already had a long history".³⁷ The expression is found in Psalms 6::3, 80::4, 90::13, Isaiah 6::11; Hab. 2::6, and it is the very phrase adi mati which occurs in Babylonian Psalms.³⁸ The general nature of the angelology of this chapter, then, appears to be Semitic, more specifically Hebrew or Jewish.

(f) Chapter 9

This is the vision of the seventy weeks, and the chapter embodies a lengthy prayer of confession and supplication by Daniel (vv 1-19). During the prayer, the angel Gabriel appears to him and proffers an interpretation of the vision, and the meaning of the seventy weeks. This interpretation centres on the blasphemies and sacrilege perpetrated by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (vv 20-27).

The pertinent verse in this chapter is verse 21 which reads as follows:

While I was speaking in prayer, the man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the first, came to me in swift flight at the time of the evening sacrifice.

Gabriel has already been dealt with as a member of the divine assembly and as an angelus interpres, and for an exegesis of the phrase "swift in flight" one is referred to the literature by Montgomery, Jeffery and Porteous.³⁹

It must be noted here that winged genii are not exclusive to Zoroastrianism, but are attested in Mesopotamian and Egyptian sources, and a flying angel appears on a relief from Ur, dating back to 2500 B.C.⁴⁰ Zechariah also refers to two women with wings of a stork (Zech 5:9), and we are familiar with the cherubim, and the winged seraphim in Isaiah (Is. 6:2). The conclusion then, is that the conception is biblical and Jewish, and that there is no concrete reason for attributing it to Zoroastrian sources.

(g) Chapters 10, 11, 12

Here Daniel receives a revelation of the final period preceding the Messianic age, and the advent of that age. While he was standing on the bank of the Tigris, the seer saw a man

clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with gold of Uphaz. His body was like beryl, his face like the appearance of lightning, his eyes like flaming torches, his arms and legs like the gleam of burnished bronze, and the sound of his words like those of a multitude. (10:5-6).

Daniel was overcome by the vision, and fell into a trance. While he was in that state, an angel appeared to him and told him that his prayer was heard and that he, the angel, had been sent to Daniel because of his words. He told him that until Michael, one of the chief princes, intervened, this divine being had been prevented from coming to Daniel, prevented, that is, by the angel of Persia. He had left Michael to contend with that Persian prince, and had come to the seer to let him know the things that would happen to his

people (10::10-14). Daniel then fell to the ground dumb, and "one in the likeness of the sons of men" touched his lips, and he was able to speak (10::15-16). Soon afterwards "one having the appearance of a man touched me and strengthened me" (v.18). After encouraging the seer, the angel promised to reveal the truth of the vision before returning to fight the angel of Persia. He told Daniel that when he should have done with the prince of Persia, the prince of Greece would arise, implying thereby that this prince would have to be fought and defeated (10::19-20). In this struggle he would be aided by "Michael your prince" (10::21).

Chapter 11 relates the barbarity of Antiochus and his persecution of the people of the Saints, the apostasy of some of the latter, Antiochus' conquests and his eventual death.

In Chapter 12 the angel reveals to Daniel the final judgement when Michael, the angel of Israel, will arise, and will champion their cause, and when the Jews whose names are inscribed in the book, will be delivered, many of the dead will rise, some to everlasting life, others to reproach and everlasting contempt. The wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and those who turned many to righteousness, like the stars for ever and ever (12::1-4). Daniel saw two others standing, one on this bank of the stream and one on that bank of the stream (v 5). The one clothed in linen, who had been speaking to him all along, assured him of the victorious final outcome, and of his place in the resurrection (vv 6-12).

This is the general setting, and it was better to spell it out in some detail in order to place the angelology of these chapters in perspective. Mention has been made of (i) a man clothed in linen; (ii) one in the likeness of the sons of men; (iii) one having the appearance of a man; (iv) the angel of Persia; (v) the prince of Greece; (vi) Michael, the great prince who has charge of your people (your prince). Since

the angels in (i), (ii), (iii) have already been dealt with in the preceding pages, we shall confine ourselves here only to the guardian angels or princes of the nations.

The notion of guardian angels or princes of the nations is Biblical and it is also ancient. In Deuteronomy 32:8f we learn that God had apportioned the nations among the gods, but that he had kept Israel as his peculiar portion or people. The passage reads as follows:

When the Most High gave to the nations their inheritance,
when he separated the sons of men,
he fixed the bounds of the peoples,
according to the number of the sons of God.
For the Lord's portion is his people,
Jacob his allotted heritage. (Deut 32:8-9).

This notion is further strengthened by the incident in Psalm 82 where the gods of the nations are upbraided for their maladministration of justice. On the subject of the princes of the nations, G. Ernest Wright has an illuminating observation:

The LXX reading almost certainly reflects the original Hebrew text because it agrees not only with the context but also with the existential manner by which Israel accounted for the existence of other deities as worshipped by other people. These deities were divine beings or angels to whom God had delegated authority over the nations. Their existence is not denied but rather accommodated to the over-all authority of Yahweh to whom they are subservient. ⁴¹

This view is also supported by scholars like Montgomery, Jeffery, Porteous, and Craigie.⁴² Wright believes that

From such a conception it was but a step to the later belief in the patron angels whom God placed in charge of the nations. ⁴³

The conclusion then, is that we are here dealing with a notion not peculiarly Zoroastrian, but one which fits in well with Biblical and ancient tradition.

The naming of angels, though late, does not necessarily imply Iranian influence either. Some argument other than mere lateness must be advanced. In the Book of Daniel only two angels are given names, Michael and Gabriel, and these are typical Hebrew names with the suffix -el (Who is like God, and Man of God). The naming of divinities, members of the divine assembly, is an ancient one and is attested and illustrated in Canaanite and Mesopotamian literature, e.g. Mot, Baal, Yam, Lotan, Marduk, Enlil, Ashera, etc.⁴⁴ Thus the naming of angels in the Book of Daniel may be just a natural development within Judaism, an instance of apocalyptic imaginativeness.

The general picture presented by the Danielic passages we have just examined is that of a divine, heavenly council in which God, represented as the Ancient of Days, the Most High, holds sway over the destinies of men and nations. That sway is all-embracing, celestially as well as terrestrially. Attended by countless ministering spirits, his angels or messengers, he sits resplendent and majestic in judgement over men and nations. He pronounces judgement on them, he vanquishes his foes, he vindicates his power and righteousness, and he rewards the people of the Saints of the Most High.

From time to time he sends out his angels to speak words of comfort and enlightenment to Daniel, and he appoints one or two of his heavenly entourage to fight against the princes of Persia and Greece.

The notion of guardian angels or princes of the nations has nothing specifically Zoroastrian about it, but, like the other aspects of the Danielic angelology, the background is Biblical and ultimately also Canaanite.

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Montgomery, op.cit., pp 419-420; Porteous, op.cit., pp 152-155; Jeffery, op.cit., p. 506; Peter Craigie, The Book of Deuteronomy, New International Critical Commentary on the Old Testament, William Erdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1976, pp 378-380. See further, S.N. Kramer, 'Man and his God', in Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (ANET), Ed. J.B. Pritchard, Princeton University Press, N.J. 1950, Reprinted with Supplement, 1974, pp 589ff, esp. note 3, p. 589. This indicates that the notion of personal guardian angels must have been native to the lore of the Ancient Near East, and not necessarily of Iran.

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CHAPTER III - THE SON OF MAN FIGURE

The first occurrence of the designation "Son of Man" in apocalyptic literature is in the Book of Daniel (Dan. 7::13):

I saw in night visions, and behold with clouds of
heaven
there came one like a son of man,
and he came to the Ancient of Days,
and was presented before him.

And to him was given dominion and glory and kingdom,
that all peoples and nations and languages should
serve him;
his dominion is an everlasting dominion,
which shall not pass away,
and his kingdom one that shall not be destroyed.

In this chapter (Dan.7), the seer has a vision in which he sees four great beasts rising out of the sea, each one different from the others and symbolizing the kingdoms of Babylon, Media, Persia and Greece. While the first three beasts bear a resemblance to known animals (lion, bear, leopard), the fourth beast bears no such resemblance, and it is terrible and destructive (7::1-8). During the time of the fourth kingdom, the Ancient of Days appears resplendent in all his glory, takes his place on the fiery throne, and passes judgement on the four pagan kingdoms. The fourth beast is destroyed, while the other three are deprived of their kingdoms (vv 9-12). At just this point, there appears on the scene "one like unto a son of man" coming "with the clouds of heaven". He is ushered into the divine presence and he takes his stand before the Ancient of Days. He is given dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all peoples, nations and languages should serve him; his kingdom is to be everlasting and indestructible (vv 13-14).

The interpretation given to Daniel by one of the celestial host concerning the beasts is that they represent four kings, and by implication, four kingdoms, of which the fourth will be the most degenerate (vv 18-26). The interpretation then, is symbolic. It must be noted that no interpretation is given concerning the son of man figure. Must he be interpreted symbolically also? Must the interpretation be purely

individual or must it be collective? This is a debated point among scholars. Some see the son of man figure as merely an individual, while others see it as symbolic of the Saints of the Most High, and ultimately of the people of the Saints of the Most High.¹ Whatever interpretation we give to the figure of the one like unto a son of man, or whatever the connection between him and the Saints of the Most High or the people of the Saints of the Most High, in the text of the chapter before us it is said of the Saints of the Most High that the fourth beast will weary them for a period of time, but that on the day of reckoning which is sure to come, it will be deprived of its kingdom, will itself be destroyed, and its kingdom given to "the people of the saints of the Most High". Inheritor of an everlasting kingdom, the one like unto a son of man will be served by all dominions (vv 25-27).

Among those who give an individual interpretation to the son of man figure, the background is held to be Iranian, Gnostic, Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Ugaritic or Israelite.² Those who argue for an Iranian background hold that that background is the Iranian Gayomart or Gaya Maretan. In this chapter we are not concerned with the endeavour to interpret the son of man figure, but rather with the endeavour to establish the soundness of the thesis for an Iranian background.³

1. Gayomart-Gaya Maretan

It must be remarked at the outset that there is ^{no} systematic or sustained presentation of the figure of Gaya Maretan in the early Zoroastrian literature, the Avesta. The references to Gaya Maretan are scattered and scanty indeed, not sufficient to constitute the basis for a theory of an Iranian background for the Danielic Son of Man. A summary of these references is in order:

(i) Gaya Maretan, the first man, was a devout servant and follower of Ahura Mazda, and from him the latter formed the race of Aryan nations:

We worship the Fravashi of Gaya Maretan, who first listened to the thought and teaching of Ahura Mazda; of whom Ahura Mazda formed the race of Aryan nations, the seed of the Aryan nations. (Yasht XIII:87).

(ii) Praise and worship are accorded Gaya Maretan:

And we worship the Fravashi of the Kine of blessed gift, and that of Gaya Maretan, and we would worship the Holy Fravashi of Zarathustra Spitama the saint. (Yasna XIII:7).

Praise be to Ahura Mazda, and to the Bountiful Immortals. Praise be to Mithra of the wide pastures. Praise to the fleet-horsed sun. Praise to the star which so we name, and with this sun Ahura Mazda's eyes. Praise to the Kine (the herds of blessed gift). Praise to Gaya (maretan) and to the Fravashi of Zarathustra (first of) saints; yea, praise to the entire creation of the holy (and the clean), to those now living, and to those just passing into life, and to those of days to come. (Yasna LXVIII:22).

We take up our Yasna, and our homage earnestly to those beings which are (so) good, the waters, and the trees, and the Fravashi of the saints, and to the Kine, and to Gaya (Maretan), and to Mathra Spenta..." (Visparad XXI: 1b-2a).

(iii) Gaya Maretan is presented as the example of human virility and strength:

For ten nights, O Spitama Zarathustra! Tistrya, the bright and glorious star, mingles his shape with light, moving in the shape of a man of fifteen years of age, bright, with clear eyes, tall, full of strength, strong and clever. He is active as the first man was; he goes on with the strength of the first man; he has the virility of the first man. (Yasht VIII:13-14).

(iv) Gaya Maretan is referred to as the first man just as Saoshyant will be the last:

We worship the Fravashis of (those) holy men and holy women; we worship all the good, heroic, bountiful Fravashis of the saints from Gaya Maretan (the first created) to Saoshyant, the victorious. (Yasna XXVI:10).

We worship all the good, awful, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, from Gaya Maretan down to the victorious Saoshyant. May the Fravashi of the faithful come quickly to us! May they come to our help! (Yasht XIII:145),

I do not agree with Borsch's identification of Gaya Maretan with Saoshyant. Speaking of Gaya Maretan, he says:

As Saoshyant (quite likely a version of Gaya maretan's fravashi) he will reappear at the end of time. 4

The phrase "from Gaya Maretan to the victorious Saoshyant" need mean no more than from the first man to the last.⁵

However, I would agree with Borsch when he states that

these scattered references obviously do not supply a very strong foundation for speculation about the importance of a Primal Heavenly Man figure in Zoroastrian thought, and it is not until we come to the much later Pahlavi Bundahis that a fuller myth about Gayomart becomes evident. 6

The references to Gayomart are fuller in the Pahlavi literature, especially in the Bundahishn. The animal kingdom is supposed to have issued from a primeval bull named Gosh, which was slain by Ahriman, and the human race issued from Gayomart. He is the first or primal man, just as another Iranian figure, Saoshyant, will be the last (Bund.XXIV:1), and at the general resurrection Gayomart's bones will rise first (Bund XXX:7). His spirit lived for three thousand years with that of the primeval ox, during the spiritual period of creation. Then Ormazd created him corporeally from his sweat. He emerged from this a brilliant, white tall figure, and as a fifteen-year old youth.

However, demonic forces were at work and so when he issued forth, Gayomart saw the world as a dark night, and the earth infested with all sorts of hideous creatures. The evil spirit himself even sent a thousand demons to Gayomart, but since the latter's appointed time had not yet come, and since, furthermore, he was to live thirty years, he was able

to repel the fiends and to kill the dreadful Arezura (Mainlogi-Khrat XXVII:14).

When the time finally came, Angra Mainyu was induced by one Jashi to poison Gayomart's body and to inflict need, suffering, disease, hunger and plagues on it (Bund.III). At death his body became molten brass, while other minerals such as gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, quicksilver and adamant issued from his members. When he was dying, he emitted his seed, which was gold. This was entrusted to earth and was preserved by Spenta Armaiti, the guardian of earth. From this, after forty years, there issued the first human pair, Mashya and Mashyoi, in the form of a rivas plant, afterwards assuming their independent forms as man and woman. Their first offspring were twins, male and female, whom they devoured. After these they bore seven more pairs of children and these they allowed to live. It is from one of these seven pairs that the human family is descended (Bund. XV:1-26).⁷

2. Critique

(1) If the only information about the son of man figure in the Book of Daniel is that found in chapter seven, then the details are clearly insufficient to enable one to make a proper comparison between this figure and Gayomart. The two figures are very remote, to say the least. The Danielic Son of Man is not the progenitor of the human race, nor is he represented as such. He makes his appearance in the vision without there being any description as to his origin. He is certainly subordinate to the Ancient of Days, but nothing is said of how he was brought into being in the first instance, much less to compare the details of his creation with those of Gayomart.

(2) Gayomart is nowhere described as a member of the Divine Council in the Iranian pantheon, whereas the Son of Man figure certainly is a member of the Council of Yahweh.

(3) Gayomart is slain by Ahriman; his body becomes molten brass and from his members issue minerals such as gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, etc. The Son of Man figure in the Book of Daniel is given everlasting dominion, and an everlasting kingdom. Thus he is also everlasting (Dan.7::14).

(4) Gayomart plays no part in Zoroastrian eschatology, except that he will be the first to rise at the general resurrection. In fact it is Saoshyant who features prominently. The Danielic Son of Man is an eschatological figure in the sense that to him will be given

dominion and glory and kingdom
that all peoples, nations, and languages
should serve him;
his dominion is an everlasting dominion,
which shall not pass away,
and his kingdom one that shall not be destroyed.
(Dan.7::14).

It is an eschatological expectation in that it looks forward to the end-time of the establishment of God's eschatological kingdom in the Son of Man. Even in Zoroastrianism such an eschatological role is not given to Gayomart.

(5) Lastly, there is the question of the age of the Parsee documents. The Pahlavi literature belongs to the ninth century A.D. Although it is claimed that they contain ancient material, there seems to be no consensus as to what this ancient core is. In his introduction to his translation of the Pahlavi Texts, E.W. West makes a clear distinction between the original Avesta and the Zand or "Pahlavi translation and explanations of their sacred books the original text of which is called the Avesta".⁸ He goes on to state that the use of the phrase "Avesta and Zand" refers to the whole of any scripture, the Avesta Text as well as the Pahlavi translation or commentary, both of which have now nearly equal authority.⁹ He refers to other translations besides these whose authority is in dispute. Thus he says:

But besides these translations there is another
class of Pahlavi writings whose authority is more

open to dispute. These writings are either translations and Zanda of Avesta Texts no longer extant, or they contain the opinions and decisions of high-priests of later times, when the Pahlavi language was on the decline. Such writings would hardly be considered of indisputable authority by any Parsee of the present day, unless they coincided with his own preconceived opinions. But for outsiders they have the inestimable value either of supplying numerous details of religious traditions and customs which could be vainly sought for elsewhere, or of being contemporary records of the religious ideas of the Parsis in the declining days of their Mazdayasnian faith. It is with a few such writings this volume has to deal. 10

The underlining is mine. This testimony certainly undermines any confidence in the relevance of the Pahlavi texts for our investigation. All this gives point to Montgomery's observation that

The whole question of that influence in the comparison of religions is sorely complicated and rendered most uncertain by the doubts as to the age of the Parsee documents. 11

The conclusion therefore, is that in the light of all the foregoing arguments, it is very doubtful whether the background of the Son of Man figure is the Iranian Gayomart.

3. The Son of Man Figure

The Son of Man figure must be viewed in the light of the context in which it appears in the Book of Daniel, a context provided by the entire Chapter seven. Norman Porteous has pointed out the necessity of making up one's mind on the matter of the unity of Chapter seven.¹² Of course one cannot ignore the literary structure of the chapter. It is a mixture of prose and poetry. Whatever the explanation for this arrangement on the part of the author of the Book, the whole chapter reads like a unity, and there is no doubt that there is progression in the arrangement of the material as well as in the thought conveyed as a whole. Thus I do not agree with Porteous when he states that verses 21-22 are an inter-

polation. If the narrative would lose nothing if these verses were omitted, the same could be said of verses 11 and 12 which Porteous believes are required by verses 13-14. In our opinion, they seem to break the sequence of the judgement scene in the celestial court. If verses 13-14 follow immediately on verses 9-10, the flow of the narrative would appear to be smoother and nothing would be lost, for the destruction of the fourth beast is dealt with in any case in the third poetical section at verse 26. Our point is that Porteous' interpolation theory appears to be subjective.

We think that the plot is clear enough in the chapter. In verses 15-18 the subject is the four beasts - the four kingdoms from whom the kingdom is wrested and given over to the saints of the Most High. In verses 19-22 the subject is the fourth beast, the most degenerate, from whom the kingdom is wrested and given over to the saints of the Most High. In verses 23-27 we have the same theme of the cosmic battle between the fourth beast and the holy ones. The heavenly court sits in judgement and decides in favour of the holy ones. The kingdom of the fourth beast is destroyed and dominion given to the people of the saints of the Most High. Having offered this critique one may nonetheless agree with Porteous that "the abrupt changes of style" may be due to changes in the subject matter, and that the alternating of prose and poetry may be due to a feature of the author's style as a writer.¹³

4. The Four Winds

There is Old Testament precedent for the idea of the four winds. Zechariah refers to them.¹⁴ Here the four winds mean simply the four cardinal points. But Delcor thinks that the possible mythological background for the expression is Babylonian, and if his arguments are accepted, this would in any case rule out the question of an Iranian background.¹⁵

5. The Great Sea

This is not the Mediterranean Sea, but rather "the cir-

cumambient ocean of the old mythology which goes all around and underneath the earth and is the antipodes of heaven".¹⁶

Several passages in the Old Testament allude to a cosmogonic myth in which, at the beginning of this world era, Yahweh had to battle against a draconic monster whom he overcame by either slaying it or by keeping it in bounds. In these passages the monster is variously referred to as

- (a) Leviathan (Job 3::8; Ps. 74::13-14; Isaiah 27::1).
- (b) Yam (sea) and Nahar (river or stream), (Ps 93; Hab. 3::8).
- (c) Rahab (Job 9::13; Pss 89::10-11; 126::12; Isaiah 30::7, 51::9-10).
- (d) Bashan - dragon-monster (Ps 68::22).

In the Babylonian Creation Epic, Enuma Elish, we find the description of a combat in which Marduk is victorious over the monster Tiamat and her associates. Tiamat recalls the Old Testament Tehom (Gen. 7::11; 49::25; Job 28::14); so there may be a Babylonian connection here.¹⁷

There is a corresponding Canaanite account contained in the Poems about Baal and Anath. It relates how Baal was engaged in combat with the draconic monster Yam, also referred to as Naharu (Stream/River), or Tannin or Bathan. In this account Baal was successful and so assured himself of his dominion over gods, men and earth. Reference is also made to "Lotan, the serpent slant", "the serpent tortuous", which recalls the instances in Isaiah (27::1) and Psalm 74::14.¹⁸

It is clear that the Biblical writers were moving in the same universe of thought as the authors of the Ancient Near Eastern texts just cited. Whether the author of the Book of Daniel borrowed directly from the Mesopotamian and Canaanite traditions, or whether he borrowed the substance of the myths via the Old Testament, it is perhaps not possible to say with certitude. But we are inclined to accept Emerton's assessment in the main when he says

The Old Testament has a number of references to a struggle between Yahweh and Rahab or Leviathan, the chaos dragon, and it is, therefore, probable

that any foreign influence was mediated through the Old Testament tradition. It is also likely that the foreign source was the religion of Canaan, not Babylon. The Ugaritic texts tell of the slaying of the dragon ltn, who is probably to be associated with the Old Testament Leviathan. These Ugaritic passages have close affinities in language with the Old Testament. In one place the goddess Anath is the vanquisher of the dragon, but in another the credit is probably given to Baal. There is also an account of the victory of Baal over his rival Yam - the sea - and this is probably a related theme. This victory seems to be connected with Baal's status as king. 19

6. The idea of Judgement

In the Old Testament the idea exists of a grand assize in which Yahweh will judge the nations. This appears, for instance, in the Book of Joel where we read that Yahweh will judge the nations:

I will gather the nations and bring them down to the valley of Jehoshaphat, and I will enter into judgement with them there, on account of my people and my heritage Israel, because they have scattered them among the nations, and have divided up my land, and have cast lots for my people, and have given a boy for a harlot, and have sold a girl for wine, and have drunk it. (Joel 3::2-3)

The same theme of judgement of the nations is also the burden of other passages such as Psalm 50, Amos, Chapters 1 and 2, and of the Oracles against the nations which we find in Isaiah, Chapters 13-21, Jeremiah, Chapters 46-51, and Ezekiel, Chapters 25-32. Of course, this judgement takes place here on earth, but there is also a reference to a heavenly judgement in Isaiah 24::21 where it is mentioned explicitly that the kings of the earth will be judged on the earth, and the host of heaven will be punished in heaven. In Psalm 82 we have a striking example of a celestial judgement,²⁰ But more of this later. The idea behind the passage in the Book of Isaiah which we

have just cited is one current in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern thought, namely the idea of a battle on earth having a corresponding battle in heaven. Thus the Cosmic battle has two dimensions, an earthly and a heavenly.²¹ There is therefore no need to look for Iranian influence here.²²

7. The Fire Motif

In certain Biblical passages fire is used frequently as a motif for theophany. As E.M. Good has observed, fire "is a consistent description of theophany throughout biblical literature".²³ He reminds us of some of the instances:

- (a) The appearance for covenant with Abraham (Gen. 15:17).
- (b) The appearance in the burning bush (Exod. 3:2).
- (c) Yahweh's leading of Israel in a pillar of fire by night (Exod. 13:21-22; Num. 9:15-16; Deut. 1:33; Ps 78:4; Isaiah 4:5).
- (d) Yahweh's appearance in fire on Mount Sinai (Exod. 19:18, 24:17; Deut. 4:11-14, 5:4-5, 22-27).
- (e) In visions of eschatological theophanies (Isaiah 4:5, 64:2, 66:15; Joel 2:30; Micah 1:4; Zech. 2:5).

Good also mentions the punitive aspect of fire until it begins to play a prominent part in the eschatological judgement. In embryonic form it is seen as a destroying fire of cosmic dimensions; later on it takes on eschatological overtones until in Apocalyptic we have almost a theology of fiery judgement.²⁴ The fire motif also appears in the Book of Ezekiel (Chapters 1, 46) where Yahweh sits on his throne, a scene which may well have inspired and influenced the author of the Book of Daniel. The fire motif is diffuse throughout the Old Testament, appearing in early and late books alike. This circumstance indicates that it was one of those motifs integral to Israel's thought. According to Meyer, the background to this picture of fire is the Iranian notion of a river of molten metal at the end of the world.²⁵ The relevant passage is as follows:

The fire and halo melt the metal of Shatvairo
 ...it remains on this earth like a river. Then
 Then all men will pass into the melted metal
 and become pure; when one is righteous, then
 it seems to him just as though he walks con-
 tinuously in warm milk: when wicked, then as
 ...in melted metal. 26

As was pointed out, the Bundahishn is a late document belonging to the ninth century A.D. and so cannot be used as a basis for the theology of the author of the Book of Daniel who wrote in the second century B.C. Moreover, in a philological examination of Amos 7:4, Delbert Hillers has seen fire as a divine weapon used in conflict with the powers of chaos, and he concludes that the text is to be understood "as the prophet's vision of the conflict of Yahweh with the primordial monster of the deep in which his weapon is lightning or supernatural fire".²⁷ He has also found that the expression "to rain fire upon" is present in the Old Testament and in Akkadian literature.²⁸

Patrick D. Miller has gone further than that, and he has supplemented Hillers' findings with information relating to the fire motif, especially in Syria-Palestine, including, of course, Israel. This additional information relates to the Baal-Yam conflict in the Ugaritic texts, and his evidence and arguments for a Ugaritic background to the Old Testament and Danielic fire motif appear to be convincing and conclusive. In this connection the entire article is relevant.²⁹

8. The Cloud Motif

In the Book of Daniel, chapter seven and verse thirteen, we read of one like a son of man coming with clouds of heaven, and that he was presented to the Ancient of Days. In the Old Testament we meet in many places with the picture of Yahweh riding on the clouds, and that these latter, are by implication, one of the visible tokens of his presence.³⁰

Thomas W. Mann, commenting on the storm motif in which clouds feature prominently, has pointed out that

clouds may be represented by the words ab, arabot, arapel, and anan, all of which occur in contexts which are basically mythological presentations of storm theophanies,³¹ and he has given a number of Biblical references to support this.³² There is therefore no doubt that the cloud motif depicts theophany in the Old Testament. Mann goes on to state that in Ugaritic literature anan, though it appears only five times, has a collective meaning, referring to divine attendants and is translated "messengers", "servants", or simply "boys". These anan are lesser deities who are sometimes Anat's messengers, as well as members of Baal's retinue.³³ There is thus a strong connection between the Ugaritic anan and the Biblical anan, where both words are related to the mythological storm motif. Thus in the Old Testament anan, messenger of the Canaanite storm deities, came to mean "cloud" when associated with Yahweh, who makes the clouds his chariot, and winds and fire his messengers. In Psalm 18:11, "clouds" are interchangeable with "cherubim" as Yahweh rides through the heavens on the wings of the latter. Mann continues that "this fearsome assembly forms the divine chariotry of the heavenly host, symbolic of Yahweh's cosmic rule",³⁴ and he concludes from Old Testament and Ugaritic evidence that "the provenance of the anan must be found in the Canaanite mythology surrounding the storm deity, his messengers, and weapons of divine warfare ..."³⁵

Once again, as was said of Patrick Miller, so also must it be said of Mann's arguments, that they appear to be convincing and conclusive on the point of the Ugaritic and, by implication, non-Iranian, provenance of the cloud motif. Whether the author of the Book of Daniel adapted it from strictly Biblical sources, or whether he adapted it directly from Canaanite sources, it is difficult to say.

9. The Designation: Son of Man.

This designation is no new thing in the Old Testa-

ment, even if the author of the Book of Daniel has applied it to his particular purpose in the court scene here. The designation has both an individual and a collective reference in the Biblical writings. It has an individual reference in the Book of Ezekiel, where it is used some eighty-seven times by the prophet of himself. The instances are too numerous to be mentioned here, but reference is made to them by Carsten Colpe.³⁶ In the passages in the Book of Ezekiel and elsewhere the Hebrew term is ben adam (בן אדם), and in these instances the creaturely nature of man is stressed. It is used as a designation of man qua man, a human being, or a member of the human race. In Psalm eighty the reference is collective and is used of the nation or people of Israel.³⁷

All these instances, individual and collective, indicate that the designation, as distinct from its use in the Book of Daniel, was native to the Old Testament. In Chapter seven, at verse thirteen, the term is used of a prominent member of the heavenly court; it is the expression bar enash (בן אנוש) the equivalent of the Hebrew ben adam. In Aramaic usage also it is used in an individual and a collective sense. It is an ancient expression dating from as far back as 740 B.C. before Aramaic became the official language of the Achemenian Empire.³⁸ So from a philological point of view, bar enash is simply the Aramaic equivalent of an ancient Hebrew designation. Although enquiry into the meaning of bar enash by Geza Vermes is limited to its use in Post-biblical Aramaic, he nonetheless assumes that it is a Semitic idiom.³⁹ Aramaic was used as an official language in the time of the Assyrians in 1100-605 B.C. and continued in official use in the Neo-Babylonian Empire from 605-538 B.C. When the Persians succeeded to the Neo-Babylonian Empire, they merely inherited the language from the Semitic groups.⁴⁰ The conclusion is that the designation bar enash is a Semitic idiom.

10. The Designation: "The Most High".

The designation occurs five times in the Book of Daniel VII, that is, once in verses 18, 23 and 27, and twice in verse 25. In four of those instances it occurs as elyonin (ܐܠܝܢܝܢ) when it is used in the construct state with qadishe (ܩܕܝܫܐ), so that we get the expression qadishe elyonin (ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܠܝܢܝܢ) "saints of the Most High". In the fifth instance, in verse 25a, it is simply elaya (ܐܝܠܐ) "The Most High". In this latter form it appears in other parts of the Book of Daniel, sometimes alone (Most High), sometimes in combination with the word "God" (Dan.4::22, 29,31), References are to the Aramaic Text. We find it used alone in Daniel 3::26,32. According to Montgomery ⁴¹ elyonin is "a unique Hebraizing word corresponding to the Aramaic ܐܠܝܢܝܢ", and that "the term was probably a current one among the Chasidim". Elaya and Elyonin are thus Aramaic equivalents of the Hebrew word Elyon (אֵלֹן), the Most High which, with El (אֵל), would give El Elyon (אֵל אֵלֹן), The Most High God. The word Elyon occurs twenty-seven times in the Old Testament as a designation of God, and carries the meaning "God the exalted One", or "the Most High God". In one of these passages, Genesis 14::18-20, which relates Abraham's encounter with the Canaanite priest Melchizedek, the latter, as priest of El Elyon, blessed Abraham in the name of his (Melchizedek's) God. But we are also told that Abraham went on to identify this Elyon with his God Yahweh. The result was that we now have the combination Yahweh Elyon (Gen. 14::22).

Later on we find Elyon grouped together with other words for deity, El and El Shaddai (Num. 24::15-16). Eventually it became a synonym for Yahweh in such passages as Deuteronomy 32::8-9; Psalms 91::1-9; 97::9, where Yahweh, the Most High (Elyon) is exalted above other gods.⁴²

There is evidence that the designation Elyon is of Canaanite origin or background. The Genesis passage just cited undoubtedly reflects a pre-Israelite Jerusalem cultus.

And there is also evidence that the designation Elyon was one of the epithets for El, the head of the Ugaritic Pantheon.⁴³ Thus is it now clear that the background for the term Elyonin in the Book of Daniel is Canaanite. So far then, we have seen that there is nothing here which is specifically Iranian.

11. The Divine Council Motif

We saw in Chapter One that the concept of a heavenly council is rooted in the traditions of the Ancient Near East. It must also be said that in these instances, the judicial function of the council is prominent, and we find that at the head of the council is the most senior god. The instances most relevant to our discussion are the Mesopotamian and Canaanite assemblies.

(a) The Mesopotamians.

Among the Mesopotamians the universe was fashioned after the manner of a state, and it was thought to be governed by an assembly of gods which were really personifications of natural forces and objects. This assembly, presided over by Anu, head of the pantheon, was held to be the highest authority in the universe, and it was there that the debates and decisions occurred regarding the destinies of men and things. The words of Jacobsen are relevant:

The leader of the assembly was the god of heaven Anu. At his side stood his son Enlil, god of the storm. One of these usually broached the matters to be considered and the gods would then discuss them. Through such discussions... the issues were clarified and the consensus would begin to stand out. Of special weight in the discussion were the voices of a small group of the most prominent gods, "the seven gods who determine the destinies". In this way full agreement was finally reached, all the gods assented with a firm "Let it be", and the decision was announced by Anu and Enlil. It was now the verdict of the assembly of the gods, the command of Anu and Enlil. The executive duties (the task of carrying out the deci-

sions) seem to have rested with Enlil. 44

Concerning Enlil's responsibility for carrying out the decisions of the assembly, Jacobsen continues:

Indeed this will is the unwritten, living constitution of the Mesopotamian world state. But whenever force enters the picture, when the cosmic state is enforcing its will against opposition, then Enlil takes the centre of the stage. He executes the sentences imposed by the assembly; he leads the gods in war. 45

In a similar vein, John Gray describes the function of Enlil:

He was (also) a king, the god personally involved in the struggle with suffering in the world as Anu was divine sovereign, the heavenly repository of final authority. Enlil, as the executive of Anu, was more practically the prototype of the human king as the active upholder of the royal authority which he derived from Anu, and of the order for which that authority stood. 46

Later on we find Marduk exercising the same function as Enlil. He was the city-god of Babylon in the Amorite period (1826-1526 B.C.), and he had assimilated the role of the Sumerian Enlil as the executive of the divine assembly and as storm-god. As such he was the protagonist in the conflict between Order and Primeval Chaos, a conflict which culminated in creation, which was integral to the Spring New Year Festival. 47 A similar function was exercised by Adad in Northern Mesopotamian mythology, and by Hadad among Syrians and Palestinians, where he was known by the name of Baal, the Lord, subordinate of El, head of that pantheon. His role was taken over by Ashur in Assyrian New Year Festivals in his conflict with Chaos. 48

(b) The Canaanites.

The Canaanite pantheon was a broad and encompassing entity which comprised the totality of all the gods who were referred to as ilim (gods) or bn il(m) (sons of El). The Council or assembly of the gods was called dt il(m),

the council of the gods.⁴⁹ At the head of the Canaanite pantheon was the chief god El (Il) and he corresponded to the Mesopotamian Anu. As father of the family of gods, he presided over these latter on the Mount of Assembly, and sanctioned their decisions. He symbolized strength and creative force, and although he appeared to be aloof and remote, yet this quality helped conserve his dignity and the idea that the ultimate power of the deity was imperturbable.⁵⁰

Among the epithets of El were those of Father and Creator, and sometimes "Father of the gods". He was also known as the ancient or Eternal One, and he wore a grey beard and was said to possess wisdom.⁵¹ Some uncertainty has been expressed about the meaning of the designation "King, Father of years" which is found in the Ugaritic texts as a description of El.⁵² The Ugaritic expression is mlk ab snm. As a description of El's seniority in the pantheon, it recalls a similar description of Yahweh in Daniel 7:9 (עתיק יומין), rendered as "the Ancient of Days". Carsten Colpe thinks that the word snm may not only be the genitive plural of snt year, but also the name of a residence, or a son of El. He refers to other possibilities, for instance to Pope's suggestion that the word snm is a derivation as a participle plural masculine from a root sny related to Arabic sana, to be noble. He refers also to Eissfeldt's suggestion that sny relates to snah (שנח), to change.⁵³ Colpe, further, does not find "Father of years" a convincing parallel to "Ancient of Days", nor does he think that "greyness of beard" which is mentioned of El, is a convincing parallel to the hair of the Ancient of Days in the Book of Daniel, especially as beards were not peculiar to gods in the Ancient Orient.⁵⁴ Another view has been expressed by John Gray, who has stated that

The plural of the Ugaritic word for year, however, is invariably snt and not snm, so that it may well be that snm in the phrase ab snm has a different significance.⁵⁵

Taking his cue from Pope, Gray translates ab snm as "the Father of the Exalted Ones".⁵⁶

In response to all this it must be stated that the very fact that grey beard is mentioned at all in the Ugaritic texts argues against Colpe's contention that beards are not peculiar to gods in the Ancient Orient. The occurrences of beard in the Ugaritic texts are definite instances which cannot be gainsaid or ignored. Moreover F.M. Cross JR has shown that the designation "Father of Years" is quite acceptable, and he cites a new text in Ugaritica V which gives to El the familiar Biblical epithet, melek olam, eternal King. Cross goes on to instance a liturgical name for El, malku abu sanima, king, father of years.⁵⁷ He continues

That snm appears here should not occasion surprise. The plurals snm and snt were available in old Canaanite, and the Ugaritic materials reflect more than one level of dialect. We judge it to be a frozen formula. Note that ab snm appears only with mlk, confirming that mlk lm and mlk ab snm are alternate formulaic epithets of the god El. 58.

I accept Cross' evaluation of the evidence, and with him, would render the phrase ab snm as "father of years".

Next to El in importance is Baal, the Storm god. Like the Mesopotamian Enlil, he was the divine executive of the heavenly assembly, and he featured prominently in the conflict between Order and Chaos, and in the conflict against Mot, the god of the underworld. He was El's executive in the assembly of the gods and he championed the divine order against the menace of chaos, represented on the one hand by unruly waters, and on the other by drought, death and sterility. As such he represented El's authority and power in the continual battle with the cosmic forces. His stock epithets were "Baal the Mighty" or "puissant Baal". Sometimes, too, he was referred to as "He who mounts the clouds", or as "Rider of the clouds".⁵⁹ His entourage comprised clouds, winds and rain, as the goddesses "Mighty one daughter of Bright Cloud, Dewy One, daughter of showers, and with them and assisted by Anath, he eventually defeated Mot."⁶⁰

There was, of course a large number of other gods in the Canaanite pantheon, and an exhaustive list would be out of place here. Some of these gods are listed by Patrick Miller and John Gray.⁶¹ We may mention, however, that apart from El and Baal there were among the great gods and goddesses an inner circle comprising Anat, Atirat, Attart, Yam and Mot.⁶² This would give us seven members corresponding to the "seven gods who determine the destinies" of the Mesopotamian pantheon. It must be noted also that in both the Mesopotamian and Canaanite myths the sea features prominently, represented by Tiamat in the one, and by Yam-Nahar in the other.

12. The Council of Yahweh Motif

This has been adequately dealt with in Chapter One, and apart from the Biblical passages there cited, the motif occurs as well in many other passages in the Old Testament.⁶³ It has also been adequately treated by scholars of whom mention was made in Chapter One also.⁶⁴ The judicial function of the Council was also noted, especially in Psalm 82. Cross has demonstrated that this aspect of the Council's function lies behind the "covenant lawsuit" motif which occurs in the prophetic literature.⁶⁵

A.F. Kirkpatrick has indicated that the word elohim in verse 1b and in verse 6 of Psalm 82 refers to earthly judges or "authorities of the nations" as being representatives of God, sons of the Most High, and that they exercise a power delegated to them by the Supreme Ruler of the world. He has further indicated that "there is nothing in the context to justify the importation of an idea which belongs to the later development of Jewish theology".⁶⁶ For him, the very idea that angels can be punished with death is a startling one which is foreign to the Old Testament view of the nature of angels.⁶⁷ Against this position, two observations need to be made. Firstly, the word elohim is not only a name for God, but is also a generic name for deity, for gods,

and as a plural form it echoes ancient polytheistic beliefs.⁶⁸ Secondly, the divine nature of the members of the Council in Psalm 82 has been amply demonstrated by scholars.⁶⁹ However, these elohim have no independent power or existence. They are responsible to God, the head of the Divine Council, who actually passes on them the sentence of death after the manner of men.

It is now clear that the author of the Book of Daniel utilized the Council of Yahweh motif, with God, the Ancient of Days, at its head. It is also clear that the Saints or the Holy Ones of the Most High are the thousand thousands who served the Most High and the ten thousand times ten thousand who stood before him. (Dan. 7::18, 21, 22, 27, also Dan. 7::10).

Colpe has indicated that "the Saints of the Most High are that portion of the Jewish people which remained loyal to the ancient traditions of Israel in the days of the Maccabees"⁷⁰. Thus he equates the "Saints of the Most High" with the "people of the Saints of the Most High" (Dan 7::27). A similar position is held by Alexander A. Di Lella, who bases his argument partly on syntactical grounds. Thus he states that "the Aramaic expression am qaddishe elyonin is normally understood as an epexegetical or appositional construct chain, 'the people, i.e. the holy ones of the Most High'".⁷¹ He concedes, however, that "grammatically, of course, it is possible to construe the Aramaic expression as a positive construct chain, in which case the meaning would be 'the people of (i.e. belonging to) the holy ones of the Most High'".⁷² Di Lella's other argument is contained in a passage which it may be well to quote in full:

if we substitute 'the angels' wherever 'the holy ones (of the Most High)' appear, we shall see that there would be small comfort for the persecuted community to be promised that 'the angels will receive the kingdom and possess it forever' (v 18); and that dominion was given to (the angels). Thus the time came when (the angels) took possession

of the kingdom (v 22). 'The kingship and the dominion and the grandeur of all the kingdoms under the heavens will be given to the (people of the angels, or angel people). Their royal rule will last forever, and all dominion will serve and obey it' (v 27). Moreover, the Jews on hearing or reading the apocalypse would surely have been baffled by vv 21-22, 'that horn (Antiochus IV) waged war against (the angels) and was prevailing against them until the Ancient One arrives'; and by v 25, 'He (Antiochus) will utter words against the Most High, and (the angels) he will devastate, planning to change the feast days and the law; they will be handed over to him for a year, two years, and a half year'. 73

The answer to the argument from syntax is that there is no valid reason to force an unnatural sense upon an expression which is quite clear as it is. The expression am qaddishe elyonin is an acceptable Aramaic construct chain, as Di Lella himself has admitted, and therefore it should be given its literal meaning of "the people of the Saints of the Most High", unless there is some compelling reason not to do so. We do not find Di Lella's reasons compelling. Against Di Lella's second argument, as well as against Colpe's view, two objections must be raised. Firstly, there occurs in the text of Daniel 7, a clear distinction between the one like a son of man, the Saints of the Most High, and the people of the Saints of the Most High, all of whom are treated as distinct entities (Dan.7::13, 18, 21-22, 27). Secondly, there is an obvious philological affinity between the Aramaic qaddishe (ܩܕܝܫܐ) and the Hebrew qedoshim (קדושים), both of which mean "saints" or "holy ones" or "angels" in the context of the Divine Assembly. In this sense the word qedoshim is used of the Divine Assembly and its members in such Biblical passages as Psalm 89::6,8 H.; Job 5::1; 15::15; Zechariah 14::5. By the same token, the "saints of the Most High" are heavenly beings or angels. In our view neither Di Lella nor Colpe has taken sufficient account of the Ancient Oriental belief that things done in heaven are archetypes of what is done on earth.⁷⁸ John Collins has reminded us that "the earthly and heavenly battles

were really two dimensions of the same battle",⁷⁵ and that angelic hosts were also found in direct confrontation with human enemies.⁷⁶ We therefore agree with Collins in his interpretation that

If the term 'holy ones' in the Book of Daniel contains any reference to the Jewish people... it is only in virtue of their association with the 'holy ones', the angelic host led by Michael which fights for Israel in heaven.⁷⁷

We are now in a position to attempt an interpretation of the scene in Chapter seven of the Book of Daniel, in the light of the mythological background we have traced.

13. The Judgement Scene in Daniel VII

Here we encounter a judicial situation in which the Council of Yahweh functions as a court. Four beasts rise out of the water, their descriptions are given, and their wickedness is passed under review. The Council is now in session, the Most High, the Ancient of Days, takes his seat on his throne surrounded by an inner circle of angelic beings. This is what is signified by the phrase "thrones were placed" (Dan 7::9), since the Ancient of Days occupied only one throne. If this interpretation is accepted, then this inner circle would correspond to the Mesopotamian and Canaanite inner circle of seven.

The judicial proceedings commence (vv 9-10) and sentence is passed on the beasts in different ways (vv 11-12). Then appears with the clouds of heaven one like a son of man. He comes to the Ancient of Days, or is presented to him, and he is given everlasting dominion and authority as viceroy and executor of God's will or of the will of the divine council (vv 13-14).

T.W. Manson does not believe that the Son of Man figure is a member of the divine council. Rather he is a human figure going up to heaven to receive dominion:

The Danielic Son of Man is not a member of the Heavenly Court: he appears before it. So Daniel's narrative goes on to tell how this Son of Man makes his way to the Ancient of Days and is ushered into his presence. The decision of the court is in his favour and he receives dominion, and glory and a kingdom that all the peoples, nations and languages should serve him... It cannot be too strongly emphasized that what Daniel portrays is not a divine, semi-divine or angelic figure coming down from heaven, to bring deliverance, but a human figure going up to heaven to receive it. 78

To this the following critiques are offered:

(1) There is no indication in the text that the Son of Man figure is essentially - that is, in essence - a human figure. He is merely described as one like unto a son of man, so that it is a matter of resemblance rather than of essence or of complete identity that we have to do with here.

(2) The text does not tell us either that this figure went up to heaven to receive the dominion. He is ushered in before the Ancient of Days, and receives the kingdom, and it is as a member of the Divine Assembly that he so receives it. If the coming with the clouds of heaven betokens his divine status, then it cannot be denied that he is considered by the author of the Book of Daniel to be a divine figure. Manson has endeavoured to interpret Daniel 7:13 in the light of the later Ethiopic Enoch.⁷⁹ But in any case it has already been shown that clouds are part of the theophanic paraphernalia in both Biblical and Ugaritic literature, and that the Canaanite parallel, Baal, Rider of the Clouds, is a member of the divine assembly.

(3) There is a difference between the one like unto a son of man, the saints of the Most High, and the people of the saints of the Most High, and it does not detract from the truth of the statement that in a real sense the one like unto a son of man is representative of the saints and of the people of the saints. In any case through the dominion given the viceroy, not only the saints, but the people of the saints, are ultimately victorious.

(4) The human aspect of the figure must not be pressed too much, for it must be remembered that in the theophany in the first chapter of the Book of Ezekiel, God is not only represented as seated above the likeness of a throne, but he is also represented as "a likeness as it were of human form" (Ezk.1::26). We submit therefore, that the one like unto a son of man is indeed a divine figure and a member of the Heavenly Court.

The One like unto a son of man is the Danielic counterpart to the Mesopotamian Enlil or the Canaanite Baal, and as such he executes the will of the Heavenly Court. The will of the latter, expressed as a sentence, is described in verses 11-12, 18, and 26-27, with the heaviest blow falling on the fourth beast which represents the Kingdom of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The sentence passed in respect of him is described in verses 11, 19-21, 23-25.

An examination of the descriptions of the Heavenly Court in Kings (1 Kgs.22::19-22), Job (1::6-12, 2::1-6); Isaiah 6::1-13, shows that after the deliberation, someone is either appointed or volunteers to execute the will of God or of the Court. In the Joban passages it is the Satan, in the case of 1 Kings, it is the lying spirit, and in that of Isaiah, it is the prophet himself. The Son of Man figure seems to play a similar role here. According to the account, he is given "dominion and glory and kingdom, that all peoples and nations and languages should serve him". In other words his kingly status, though derived, is nonetheless real. This accords well with what we know of the kingly status of Enlil and Baal. The author of the Book of Daniel may very well have been aware of either the Mesopotamian or the Canaanite tradition or both of them, and if so, he eliminated the names of Enlil, Baal, Marduk, etc, and replaced them by "one like unto a son of man". In this way justice would be done to his monotheism, and the myth Yahwized and emptied of its pagan associations.

On balance the overall background seems to be Canaanite,

and this for the following reasons:

(1) The epithet of the One like unto a Son of Man as coming with the clouds of heaven is also one of the stock epithets of Baal. Clouds as part of the Baal theophany have already been dealt with on pages 38 and 39.

(2) The close affinity in vocabulary between the descriptions of the two divine assemblies, that of Canaan and that of the Israelites, argues in favour of a Canaanite origin.

(3) It is in the Ugaritic literature that we have the most articulate description of the head of the pantheon - in this case, El - as a very senior personage, El, King Father of Years. This epithet, as we have seen, expresses seniority, wisdom, and eternity.

Let a house be built for Baal like the gods',
And a court like the children of Ashera's!
Quoth Lady Ashera of the sea:
'Art great indeed, O El, and wise,
Thy beard's gray hair instructs thee, 80

No house hath Baal like the gods',
Nor court like Ashera's children's.
Quoth Maiden Anath:
He'll heed me, will Bull El my father,
He'll heed me for his own good!
For I'll fell him like a lamb to the ground,
Make his gray hair flow with blood,
The gray hair of his head with gore,
Unless he give
A house unto Baal like the gods'
And a court like Ashera's children's.
She stamps her foot and the earth trembles.
There she is off on her way
Toward El of the sources of the Floods,
In the midst of the Headwaters of the two deeps.
She penetrates El's field and enters
The pavilion of King Father Shunem (or Father
of Years). 81

Julian Morgenstern thinks that the Ancient of Days is a very old personage, weary and exhausted by his long and demanding administration of his office. He is someone

who is ready to yield to the young and more vigorous one like the Son of Man. Morgenstern believes that the Ancient of Days is the Tyrian Baal Shamem, while the one like unto a son of man is the Tyrian Melcarth. The older god

departs from his sanctuary, journeys westward to the very end of the earth, there to vanish from human sight and to descend into the nether world...and Melcarth his son...resurrected, risen from the nether world and returned to his people to assume the divine kingship, to rule, to judge, and to bless. 82

His conclusion is interesting:

Accordingly then we must reject completely the interpretation of these two verses which holds that the "one like a human being" is the Jewish people. Rather we must return to the older hypothesis and restate it in a considerably modified and expanded form, to the effect that we can readily discern in these two verses elements of ancient Semitic mythology. But these elements are not of Babylonian, but rather of Tyrian origin. And not merely the one, but the two divine figures here, "the Ancient of Days" and "the one like a human being", are patterned closely after, not the Babylonian deity, Marduk, but the composite Tyrian solar deity, Baal-Shamem-Melcarth, in both reciprocal phases of his divine being. And the annual departure of the old god, the divine father, and the coming of the resurrected, youthful, vigorous god, the divine son, to replace him upon the heavenly throne as king of his own people and of the entire world, is, we maintain, the immediate pattern of the scene depicted in these two verses. 83

Morgenstern's thesis is attractive as a description of Tyrian mythology, but it founders for lack of positive and concrete evidence when applied to the text of Daniel 7:13-14. For although the imagery in this chapter could conceivably have had a cultic background or a myth-ritual one, it need not necessarily be associated with a cult festival. It can stand on its own as the seer's vision of what took place in the Heavenly Court whose general background appears to be Canaanite. Moreover, there is no evidence in the text that the Ancient of Days was so decrepit and ineffective that

he was superseded by the younger Son of Man figure. If the affinity between the Canaanite and Israelite Divine Councils be granted, we can then refer to some pertinent evidence which refutes the view that El was a deus otiosus. In some texts El is portrayed as a vigorous and active god, who engages in hunting, feasting and lovemaking, a god very much in command as head of the pantheon, and as a divine warrior.⁸⁴

One of the names of God in the Old Testament is El Olam (אלים-עולם), an epithet which means God, the Everlasting One, or the God of Eternity. He was connected with the ancient Canaanite shrine of Beer Sheba in Genesis 21:33. B.W. Anderson has indicated that Olam means everlasting time, or time whose boundaries are hidden from view, and that the word when applied to El, presumably means "that his sovereignty continues through the ages, unaffected by the passing of time".⁸⁵ This is no doubt the idea behind the expressions "Everlasting God" (Isaiah 40:28), and "from everlasting to everlasting Thou art God" (Psalm 90:1-2). This would explain also the description of God in the Book of Daniel as the Ancient of Days. The whole tenor of the scene in the seventh chapter, and indeed of the whole book, and of all the Biblical instances of the Divine Council, is that in spite of all apparent opposition to his will, God - the Ancient of Days - is secure on his throne and is in full control of history.

In quite another vein, James Muilenburg thinks that Wisdom is the background of the Son of Man figure, and he cites passages like Job 15:7ff and Proverbs 8:22-25 in support of this view.⁸⁶ A. Feuillet also thinks the same way.⁸⁷ However, close examination of these passages does not reveal any close association between these and the Danielic Son of Man figure. These passages deal with hypostatized Wisdom (Proverbs 8:22-25), and with a rebuke to Job by one of his comforters (Job 15:7ff).

Note must also be taken of the position of

J.A.Emerton who states that the background may well be Yahweh and ultimately Baal, although he does not tell us exactly how he has arrived at this conclusion. He has rejected as conjectures the premises on which this conclusion is based, namely, that just as Baal supersedes El, so too, Yahweh must have superseded Elyon. "The Son of Man was then degraded to the status of an angel even though he retained the imagery which was so closely attached to him in tradition".⁸⁸ There is no suggestion in the Danielic passage that the Son of Man superseded the Ancient of Days, and if this is the implication of Emerton's statement, the text does not suggest either any supersession of Elyon by Yahweh. The positive feature of Emerton's article is his correct conclusion that the ultimate background of the Son of Man imagery is the Baal figure.

CONCLUSION

Our study in this Chapter has shown that from a mythological and terminological standpoint the background of the Son of Man figure is Canaanite rather than Iranian. We have pointed out the difficulties arising from an Iranian hypothesis, on the grounds of the paucity of information in the Avesta, and on grounds of the late date of the Pahlavi texts. We have found that the Son of Man figure must be interpreted in the context of the Council of Yahweh motif, a motif which has its background and roots in the traditions of the Ancient Near East, especially in Mesopotamia and Canaan. But we have seen also that the very close affinity in language, vocabulary and terminology between the Danielic and Canaanite Heavenly Councils, serve to make the Canaanite mythology the most probable background of the Son of Man figure.

Power and executive authority are given to the one like unto a son of man whose divine status is undoubted, since he is a prominent member of the Heavenly Court (Dan. 7:14). We learn that the "saints of the Most High shall

receive the kingdom, and possess it for ever, for ever and ever" (Dan. 7:18). The Son of Man figure is not the Saints of the Most High. He is a distinct figure as the text itself makes clear. However, as executor of the will of the Divine Council, he is their representative, and so in a real sense the everlasting kingdom and dominion which are his, can be said to be theirs also. In other words, the Divine Council through the Son of Man figure triumphs over the four bestial creatures and so receives the victorious kingdom.

The mention in verse 22 of the Ancient of Days does not detract in any way from the executive power and kingly role of the one like unto a son of man, especially when it is remembered that decisions in the Mesopotamian and Canaanite counterparts were announced in the name of the supreme god and of his executive. The judgement passed by the Ancient of Days, is that of the Son of Man figure, and vice versa, and the judgement of both is the judgement of the Divine Court. Since events in the celestial sphere have their reverberations on earth, then the kingdom which the saints of the Most High receive as a result of their victory over the fourth beast especially, becomes that of their people on earth - the people of the saints of the Most High (Dan. 7:27), that is, the Jews to whom ultimate victory is secure in the Kingdom of God. This is the message of hope and comfort from the author of the Book of Daniel to his persecuted and suffering compatriots.

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CHAPTER IV - THE FOUR METALLIC AGES OF THE WORLD

In Chapter II of the Book of Daniel, King Nebuchadnezzar has had a disturbing dream and he wants his magicians to interpret it to him. But he taxes their prowess by requiring them to tell him in advance the substance of the dream. They confess their inability to fulfil so extraordinary a request, and this angers the King who thereupon orders their summary execution. The execution is stayed after Daniel's plea that he be given an opportunity to interpret the dream to the King. Daniel and his companions pray to God for illumination, after which his request is granted. At Daniel's instance he is taken in to the King, and after an initial colloquy with the latter, he interprets the dream. The King honours Daniel, magnifies his God, and promotes him and his friends to high offices in the realm. The substance of the dream as Daniel recounted it, is as follows:

You saw, O King, and behold, a great image. This image, mighty and of exceeding brightness, stood before you, and its appearance was frightening. The head of this image was of fine gold, its breasts and arms of silver, its belly and thighs of bronze, its legs of iron, its feet partly of iron and partly of clay. As you looked, a stone was cut out by no human hand, and it smote the image on its feet of iron and clay, and broke them in pieces, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing floors; and the wind carried them away, so that not a trace of them could be found. But the stone that struck the image became a great mountain and filled the whole earth. (Dan. 2::31-35).

According to Daniel's interpretation, the four metals represent four kings or kingdoms, beginning with Nebuchadnezzar's, the Babylonian kingdom. After this there would arise three inferior kingdoms, of which the fourth would be the most terrible and the most oppressive (Dan. 2::36-45). The metals are arranged in descending order of value from gold down to iron mingled with clay, or to express it differently, from the head to the hands and feet.

Scholars are generally agreed that the four metals cited here represent the four beasts rising out of the sea

described in Daniel VII, namely, the Babylonian, Median, Persian and Greek Kingdoms.¹ While they agree, further, that Daniel's four metallic ages schema has been borrowed by the author of the Book of Daniel, they differ in their views as to the source of that borrowing.

Thus Montgomery refers to scholars like Bokeln, Bousset and Meyer, all of whom have pressed the case for an Iranian provenance.² Stanley B. Frost, referring to the second chapter of the Book of Daniel, has stated that "the interpretation of the four substances of the figure as four world-empires, represents the application of a widespread idea of four ages or periods in the life of the world", and in a footnote on the same page, he goes on to argue for an Iranian origin of the four-metal theory.³ D.S. Russell also finds the source in Zoroastrianism, but admits that it is to be found in Greek thought both at the period to which the Book of Daniel belongs, as well as much earlier. Furthermore, although he admits that the dating of the literary sources of Zoroastrianism is "a notoriously difficult problem", he goes on to state nonetheless that though most of the literature comes from a post-Christian and indeed a post-Mohammedan era, it "undoubtedly contains material of far greater antiquity".⁴ But this is to beg the question as to what precisely is this material of far greater antiquity? Has it been conclusively determined, especially in the light of Russell's own admission of the existence of a Greek tradition of some antiquity?⁵ After a description of the Iranian theory of the Ages of the World, but without showing how this is undoubtedly the source of the Danielic Ages, Russell concludes:

However much the details of the two schemes vary, this much seems plain, that the Jewish Apocalyp-
tists were deeply influenced by the Iranian con-
ception of world epochs and used it to develop,
systematize and universalize the idea of the
unity of history which they had already received
from their predecessors in the Old Testament tra-
dition.⁶

On the other hand, Norman Porteous seems to disagree,

and he reminds us that the theory appears in Greek, Roman, Hindu and Buddhist thought as well, and he refers to chronological difficulties of the Parsee theory "which make it doubtful whether it is relevant to the interpretation of the present message".⁷ The case for a Greek, rather than an Iranian influence has been made by T.F.Glasson who states that the Book of Daniel was written at a time when Palestine was under Greek rule and influence, and so may have been influenced by Hesiod's Works and Days, which was written during the eighth century B.C. He has found it curious that in order to explain a second century B.C. writing, one has to turn to one which was written a thousand years later, and then argue that it contains earlier material, whereas an adequate and more likely source seems available.⁸ Therefore, he says, the author of the Book of Daniel must have made use of Hesiod's Works and Days to describe the ages of the world.⁹

J. Duchesne-Guillemin, who wrote even before Glasson, had already doubted an Iranian provenance, and in one of his works he seems to imply that a Greek origin is reasonable.

On a d'abord le mythe d'âges successifs de l'humanité placés chacun sous le patronage d'un métal. Ce mythe est bien connu en Grèce, et rien ne dit que le livre de Daniel le doive à l'Iran, où il n'apparaît que très tardivement. Sans doute est-il né quelque part en Asie Antérieure avec la métallurgie du fer et s'est-il propagé avec lui. 10

En somme, dans l'évolution du Judaïsme post exilique, l'influence iranienne sûrement établie paraît moindre que celle d'hellénisme. 11

Our purpose then in this chapter is to examine the case for an Iranian influence and to offer an assessment.

The Iranian Metallic Ages of the World

The association of the Ages of the World with metals occurs in three places in the Pahlavi literature, that is once in the Dinkart, and twice in the Bahman Yasht. It does not occur in the early Zoroastrian writings.

The seventh fargard, Ta-ve-urvata, is about the exhibition to Zaratusht of the nature of the four periods in the millenium of Zaratusht. First, the golden, that in which Auharmazd displayed the religion to Zaratusht. Second, the silver, that in which Vistasp received the religion from Zaratusht. Third, the steel, the period within which the organizer of righteousness, Aturpad son of Maraspend, was born. Fourth, the period mingled with iron is this, in which is much propagation of the authority of the apostate and other villains, as regards the destruction of the reign of religion, the weakening of every kind of goodness and virtue, and the disappearance of honour and wisdom from the countries of Iran. 12

As it is declared by the Studgar Nask that Zaratusht asked for immortality from Auharmazd, then Auharmazd displayed the omniscient wisdom to Zaratusht, and through it he beheld the root of a tree, on which were four branches, one golden, one silver, one of steel, and one was mixed up with iron. Thereupon he reflected in this way, that this was seen in a dream, and when he arose from sleep Zaratusht spoke thus: 'Lord of the spirits and earthly existences, it appears that I saw the root of a tree, on which were four branches! Auharmazd spoke to Zaratusht the Spitaman thus: 'That root of a tree which thou sawest, and those four branches, are the four periods which will come. That of gold is when I and thou converse, and King Vistasp shall accept the religion, and shall demolish the figures of the demons, but they themselves remain for ... concealed proceedings. And that of silver is the reign of Ardashir the Kayan king, and that of steel is the reign of the glorified Khusro son of Kevad, and that which was mixed with iron is the evil sovereignty of the demons with dishevelled hair of the race of wrath, and when it is the end of the tenth hundredth with winter of thy millenium, O Zaratusht the Spitaman!' 13

Here three of the four ages are applied to other epochs than those mentioned in the preceding passage taken from the Dinkart. The golden age is a compression of the first and second ages. The silver age is now made to refer to the reign of Ardashir the Kayan, generally identified with Artaxerxes Longimanus (465-424 B.C.). It is possible

that this period also included the reigns of Xerxes II, Darius II, and Artaxerxes II Mnemon.¹⁴ The steel age now refers to the reign of Khusro, the son of Kobad or Kavad (531-539 A.D.) during whose reign the Pahlavi literature flourished. He was responsible for tricking Mazdik into a gruesome death, and of massacring his followers. This Mazdik had preached a new religion, one of whose tenets was the communization of wealth and women.¹⁵ He is probably the apostate referred to in the Dinkart passage.¹⁶ We shall now consider the third passage.

Auharmazd spoke thus: "O Zaratust the Spit-aman! this is what I say beforehand, the one tree which thou sawest is the world which I, Auharmazd created; and those seven branches which thou sawest are the seven periods which will come. And that which was golden is the reign of King Vistasp, when I and thou converse about religion and Vistasp shall accept that religion and shall demolish the figures of the demons, and the demons desist from demonstration into concealed proceedings; Aharman and the demons rush back to darkness, and care for water, fire, plants and the earth of Spendarmad becomes apparent. And that which was of silver is the reign of Ardashir the Kayan, whom they call Vohuman son of Spend-dad, who is he who separates the demons from men, scatters them about, and makes the religion current in the whole world. And that which was brazen is the reign of Ardakhshir, the arranger and restorer of the world, and that of King Shahpur, when he arranges the world, which I, Auharmazd created; he makes happiness prevalent in the boundaries of the world, and goodness shall become manifest; and Ataro-pad of triumphant destiny, the restorer of the true religion, with the prepared brass, brings this religion, together with the transgressors, back to the truth. And that which was of copper is the reign of the Askanian king, who removes from the world the heterodoxy which existed, and the wicked Akandgari Kilisyakih is utterly destroyed by this religion, and goes unseen and unknown from the world. And that which was of tin is the reign of King Vahram Gor, when he makes the sight of the spirit of pleasure manifest, and Aharman with the wizards rushes

back to darkness and gloom. And that which was of steel is the reign of King Khusro son of Kevad, when he **keeps** away from this religion the accursed Mazdik, son of Bamdad, who remains opposed to the religion along with the heterodox. And that which was mixed with iron (is the reign of demons with dishevelled hair of the race of wrath, when it is the end of the tenth hundredth winter of thy millenium), O Zaratust the Spitaman. 17

Here the metallic ages are increased to seven. The bronze age represents the first two Sassanian Kings, Artashir (226-241 A.D.) and his son, Shahpuhr I (241-272 A.D.).¹⁸ The Ashkanian King of the copper age is apparently a Parthian King whose identity is not established.¹⁹ King Vahram Gor of this same metallic age is Bahram V who reigned from 420-438 A.D. and who was mentioned because of his patronage and generosity to the Magian hierarchy.²⁰

Of a much earlier age, and one which we have already mentioned, is Artaxerxes I Longimanus (465-424 B.C.) who introduced a Zoroastrian calendar. From his reign to that of Darius III Zoroastrianism was the official religion of the Royal House.²¹ This is the only personage mentioned who, apart from Vistasp, antedated the Book of Daniel. And this appears to an idealization of an earlier age. The conclusion therefore, is that we may very well be dealing here with a case of retrospection on the part of the authors of the Pahlavi literature, who were heirs to some tradition about metallic ages which they adapted, re-interpreted and applied to certain epochs of their national history. Most of the epochs mentioned are later than the time of the author of the Book of Daniel.

Differences between the Danielic and Iranian Ages

In the Book of Daniel there is no steel age, while in the Iranian list there is such an age. In the Book of Daniel there is progressive degeneration from the gold to the iron age, in which each succeeding age is worse than the preceding

one. In the Iranian Ages it is not so, and the only really degenerate age is that "mingled with iron". It is true that there were heresies to combat, but each age was able to produce, according to the Pahlavi writings, champions of orthodoxy who were more than a match for the heretics. The authors have nothing but high praise for these champions. One suspects that both the Danielic and Pahlavi authors may have been using a common source which each adapted to his peculiar historical circumstances. This point is not conclusive, but it is not implausible. So rather than trying to discover Iranian influence in the Danielic Ages, should we not consider instead the possibility or probability that both authors may be indebted to a common source? This is the question now to be pursued.

The Probable influence of Hesiod's Ages

We would like to refer once again to Glasson's statement referred to on page sixty-six, that the Book of Daniel was written at a time when Palestine was under Greek (Hellenistic) rule and influence, and so may have been influenced by Hesiod's *Workd and Days*, a composition of the eighth century B.C. In this work Hesiod undoubtedly makes use of a four-metal schema to describe the ages of the world, using metals identical to those mentioned in the Book of Daniel, as well as some of those mentioned in the Pahlavi writings. Actually Hesiod mentions a fifth age which is non-metallic, the heroic age. The passage in question is Works and Days, lines 109-210, and the ages are gold, silver, brazen, heroic and iron, and here too, the iron age is the most degenerate, but it will be eventually destroyed by Zeus.²²

Greek Influence in Palestine

For two centuries, dating from the time of the conquests of Alexander the Great, Palestine was under Greek rule, and so was subject, among other things, to the Hellen-

izing influences, not only of Alexander himself, but also of the Ptolemies and Seleucids who succeeded him. Alexander had endeavoured to unite the peoples of his vast Empire into one civilization based on Greek culture whose ardent champion he was. He promoted this policy by means of mixed marriages between Greeks and Asiatics, in which Persian princesses were usually given in marriage to his chief officers. He himself had married the Persian Roxane, by way of example and inspiration to his men. More relevant to our purposes, however, is the fact that he had also tried to achieve this unity by founding Macedonian colonics and Greek cities all over his empire. As a consequence, there was a large influx of Greek Natives from the peninsula, as well as many disbanded soldiers, and many merchants, all of which groups became missionaries, as it were, of Greek civilization and culture.²³

We learn, moreover, that Greek influence in Palestine dates from an even earlier time than that of Alexander the Great and his successors. We learn that as far back as the second millenium B.C., Palestine had had connections with not only Egypt, Mesopotamia, Northern Syria and Arabia, but with Cyprus and the Aegian Islands. There is evidence, too, for Greek commercial enterprises in Palestine dating from the seventh century B.C., and mediated through the Phoenicians, who were "mediators of Greek culture for Palestine in the pre-Hellenic period".²⁴ This resulted in the introduction of Greek coinage, as well as of a variety of Greek goods, artifacts and public works.²⁵ All this was to have a social impact which neither Palestine nor the Diaspora was able to escape.²⁶

This process of Hellenization was assisted by the use and spread of the Greek language as the lingua franca of the Empire. The Greek in question was Attic koine which had begun to outstrip in influence the official Aramaic which had been the lingua franca of the Persian Empire.

Greek merchants dealt in it...laws were promulgated in it and treaties concluded in accordance with a uniform basic scheme; it was the language of both diplomats and men of letters; and anyone who sought social respect or even the reputation of being an educated man had to have an impeccable command of it. The word *ελληνισμός* primarily meant "speak Greek correctly", and only secondarily "adopt a Greek style of life". Impeccable command of the Greek language was the most important qualification for taking over Greek culture. The final establishment and dissemination of the koine was probably the most valuable and most permanent fruit of Alexander's expedition. 27

Alexander's death, and the subsequent partition of his Empire among his generals, did not halt the process of Hellenization by any means, for his successors took up and continued his policy. Both the Ptolemies and the Seleucids under whose rule both Jews and Iranians fell, founded many Greek cities throughout Asia Minor. The Seleucids transformed many Greek cities into models of Greek culture, and they also built many new ones and settled Macedonians and Greeks in them. The essential feature of these cities was not so much the fact that they were necessarily settled by native Greeks, but more in the sense that they were organized after the Greek pattern. So while it is true that many of them were inhabited by local people, yet their social and political life underwent some transformation.

In the gymnasium and in the Ephebeion, two typical Hellenistic institutions, one was introduced to literature and music. And this interest in its turn, generated the establishment of schools for the teaching of philosophy and the study of drama.

This Hellenistic culture, then, opened up for many people entirely new vistas, developed new aesthetic appreciation, and encouraged the study of science, philosophy and the liberal arts in quite a remarkable way throughout the whole civilized world. Intelligent men belonging to traditions other than that of the Greeks saw how superior the Greek way of

life was to their own. There was a charm and vitality about it that carried its own appeal to men of diverse religious, political and cultural backgrounds. 28

Martin Hengel has written a much fuller account of Greek education and culture in Palestinian Judaism in which the impact of Hellenism as a force in education is quite evident. 29

Many in Palestine succumbed to its spell, but it was possible, indeed it is highly probable that many were able to absorb something of the Hellenistic spirit without betraying their ancestral faith, while others did so betray their faith in the process. This was the point at issue in the crisis that precipitated the Maccabean revolt; for the antagonists were not only Jews and Greeks, but also loyal and disloyal Jews as well.³⁰ Among loyal Jews who imbibed the new cultural spirit were the Pharisees and their precursors, as we learn from W.F. Albright, who states that they "eventually became more thoroughly Hellenized".³¹ Albright goes on to state that the most important area of this influence was the exegetical and dialectical methods which the Pharisees employed in their development of ritual law. They placed great emphasis on the value of systematic study and the widest possible scope of education, both of which were foreign to early Israel and to the Ancient Orient. But they were part of the liberal Hellenistic ideal.³² In spite of all this, however, the Pharisees can hardly be said to have surrendered their ancestral faith. Another instance of the tendency to imbibe some of the new spirit was the translation of the Old Testament into Greek to produce what we now know as the Septuagint. The language was Greek, but we learn that in spite of this the translators were very little influenced by the Greek spirit.³³

In the light of all this, it is quite probable that in the study of Greek literature, educated Jews would have become familiar with Greek authors, and that among these

latter would be Hesiod. There is evidence that Homer was studied and that he was even recognized "as the canonical book of Greek education in Jewish Palestinian circles".³⁴ There is evidence, too, that an anonymous Samaritan writer who probably wrote in Palestine sometime between the Seleucid conquest and the Maccabean revolt, had attempted to combine the Biblical stories of the Creation by utilizing non-Jewish sources, among whom was Hesiod.³⁵ We are told, further, that the Jewish religious philosopher, Aristobulus, who lived about 170 B.C., was familiar with Hesiod.³⁶

These instances show that the works of important Greek authors were known and studied by educated Jews during the period under study, both in Palestine and in Alexandria. It is therefore quite conceivable that the author of the Book of Daniel, who was himself a loyal Jew, may have been familiar with Hesiod. While not succumbing to the sinister effects and influences of Hellenism, he would know how to use and adapt some of its aspects to the effective proclamation of his message. It is not improbable that his use of the metallic ages was one of his adaptations.

Greek Influence in Iran

We know, however, that not only the Jews, but the Iranians as well, were under Greek rule, and that they, too, were influenced by the Hellenistic culture around them in much the same way as the Jews had been. The Seleucids had built a network of cities, and as a result a new urban society emerged which was superimposed on that of the Iranians. This society comprised dignitaries, soldiers, civil servants and merchants.³⁷ We also learn that the Seleucid monarchs maintained very good relations with the upper-class Iranians, some of whom were able to attain to high office in the Empire, and that this was the most Hellenized segment of Iranian society.³⁸ R. Ghirshman states:

Thus Hellenization came about without any compulsion or any special policy, affecting above all,

the Iranians of the cities and towns; it spread among the upper and middle classes, and also reached the free artisans of the towns, but had far less, if indeed any, influence on the rural population. Hellenization was largely due to the penetration of the Iranian element into the political and administrative life of the Empire; as a result there came into being a mixed society without which Iran would have been no more than a country of Asia inhabited by the Greeks. The participation of the Iranian middle classes in the life of the state...created a kind of solidarity between those who spoke Greek. 39

Another passage of Ghirshman's is equally significant:

In social life there was a growing tendency towards greater equality among the inhabitants, particularly in the cities and towns, where a Greek education and a knowledge of the Greek language opened the door to the Hellenized Iranian element which lived alongside the Greeks and was protected by the same legislation. The distinction between descendants of Iranians and Greeks gradually disappeared. 40

It is thus reasonable to conclude that the authors-compilers of the Pahlavi literature may well have been familiar with Hesiod's writings, and that they may themselves have even borrowed and adapted the idea of the metallic ages of the world from that source. After all, Hesiod was an important Greek poet, and it is expected that educated men who became influenced by Greek culture, would have been familiar with his works.

Comparison Between Hesiod's Ages and Those of the Book of Daniel and of the Pahlavi Literature.

Hesiod's Ages of the World begin with the golden age, an age of unrestricted happiness and general bliss. The account reads as follows:

In the beginning, the immortals who have their homes on Olympos created the golden generation of mortal people. These lived in Kronos' time when he

was the king in heaven.
 They lived as if they were gods,
 their hearts free from all sorrow,
 by themselves, and without hard work or pain;
 no miserable
 old age came their way; their hands, their feet,
 did not alter.
 They took their pleasure in festivals,
 and lived without troubles.
 When they died, it was as if they fell asleep.
 All goods
 were theirs. The fruitful grainland
 yielded its harvest to them
 of its own accord; this was great and abundant,
 while they at their pleasure
 quietly looked after their works
 in the midst of good things
 (prosperous in flocks, on friendly terms
 with the blessed immortals).

Now that the earth has gathered over this generation,
 these are called pure and blessed spirits;
 they live upon earth,
 and are good, they watch over mortal men
 and defend them from evil;
 they keep watch over lawsuits and hard dealings;
 they mantle
 themselves in dark mist
 and wander all over the country;
 they bestow wealth; for this right
 as of kings was given them. 41

In the Book of Daniel, the golden age, represented by the
 "head of gold", is applied to King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon,
 who is described by the author in glowing terms:

You, O king, the king of kings, to whom the
 God of heaven has given the kingdom, the power,
 and the might, and the glory, and into whose
 hand he has given, wherever they dwell, the
 sons of men, the beasts of the field, and the
 birds of the air, making you rule over them
 all - you are the head of gold. (Dan. 2:37-38).

In the Pahlavi writings the golden age refers to the
 revelation of the Religion to Zaratust, and to King Vistasp's
 conversion. These events have been regarded as the high points
 of the Zoroastrian religion:

First, the golden, that in which Auharmazd displayed
 the religion to Zaratust. 42

That of gold is when I and thou converse, and King Vistasp shall accept the religion, and shall demolish the figures of the demons, but they themselves remain...for concealed proceedings. 43

The silver age in Hesiod is described as that in which childhood bliss gave way to troubles, reckless crimes and irreverence.

Next after these the dwellers upon Olympos created a second generation, of silver, far worse than the other.

They were not like the golden ones, either in shape or spirit.

A child was a child for a hundred years, looked after and playing by his gracious mother, kept at home, a complete booby.

But when it came time for them to grow up and gain full measure,

they lived for only a poor short time; by their own foolishness

they had troubles, for they were not able to keep away from

reckless crime against each other, nor would they worship

the gods, nor do sacrifice on the sacred altars of the blessed ones,

which is the right thing among the customs of men, and therefore

Zeus, son of Kronos, in anger engulfed them, for they paid no due

honours to the blessed gods who live on Olympos. 44

In the Book of Daniel, the silver breasts and arms represent a second kingdom, which would be inferior to that of King Nebuchadnezzar: "After you shall arise another kingdom inferior to you", (Dan. 2::39a). This kingdom has been generally identified as the Median kingdom. 45

In the Pahlavi writings the silver age applies to Vistasp's conversion as well as to the reign of Ardakhshir the Kayan king.

Second, the silver, that in which Vistasp received the religion from Zaratust. 46

And that which is of silver is the reign of Ardashir the Kayan whom they call Vohuman son of Spend-dad

who is he who separates the demons from men, and scatters them about, and makes the religion current in the world. 47

And that of silver is the reign of Ardakhshir the Kayan king. 48

As we have seen, Ardakhshir is generally identified with Artaxerxes Longimanus. 49 There is no indication that this age is inferior to the preceding one.

The bronze age is described in Hesiod in the following manner:

But when the earth had gathered over this generation also - and they too are called blessed spirits by men, though under the ground, and secondary, but still they have their due worship - then Zeus the father created the third generation of mortals, the age of bronze. They were not like the generation of silver. They came from ash spears. They were terrible and strong, and the ghastly action of Ares was theirs, and violence. They ate no bread, but maintained an indomitable and adamant spirit. None could come near them; their strength was big, and from their shoulders the arms grew irresistible on their ponderous bodies. The weapons of these men were bronze, of bronze their houses, and they worked as bronzesmiths. There was not yet any black iron. Yet even these, destroyed beneath the hands of each other went down into the moldering domain of cold Hades; nameless; for all they were formidable black death seized them, and they had to forsake the shining sunlight. 50

In the Book of Daniel the bronze age, that is "the belly and thighs of bronze", represents a third kingdom: "And yet a third kingdom of bronze, which shall rule over all the earth" (Dan.2::39b. This kingdom of bronze is generally identified as the Persian kingdom. 51

In the Pahlavi writings, the bronze age represents the

reign of Ardakshir who, along with his son Shahpuhr, were the first two Sassanian kings (226-272 A.D.), as well as the time of Ataropat Maraspand who lived during the reign of Shahpuhr II (309-379 A.D.).⁵²

And that which was brazen is the reign of Ardakshir, the arranger and restorer of the world, and that of King Shahpuhr, when he arranges the world which I, Ahurmazd, created; he makes happiness prevalent in the boundaries of the world, and goodness shall become manifest; and Ataropad of triumphant destiny, the restorer of the true religion, with the prepared brass, brings this religion, together with the transgressors to the truth. 53

Hesiod's fourth age is the "generation of hero-men", which seems to have no parallel in the Pahlavi literature. These hero-men are half-gods, some of whom would be devastated by war and carnage. But others would enjoy a sorrow-free life in a region of their own, and with Kronos as their king:

Now when the earth had gathered over this generation also, Zeus, son of Kronos, created yet another fourth generation on the fertile earth, and these were better and nobler, the wonderful generation of hero-men, who are also called half-gods, the generation before our own on this vast earth.

But of these too, evil war and terrible carnage took some; some by seven-gated Thebes in the land of Kadmos as they fought together over the flocks of Oidipous; others

war had taken in ships over the great gulf of the sea,

where they also fought for the sake of lovely-haired Helen.

There, for these, the end of death was misted about them.

But on others Zeus, son of Kronos, settled a living and a country

of their own, apart from humankind at the end of the world.

And there they have their dwelling place, and hearts free of sorrow

in the islands of the blessed

by the deep-swirling stream of the ocean, prospering heroes, on whom in every year three times over

the fruitful grainland bestows its sweet yield.

These live
 far from the immortals, and Kronos
 is king among them.
 For Zeus, father of gods and mortals,
 set him free from his bondage,
 although the position and the glory still belong
 to the young gods. 54

In the Book of Daniel, the author refers to a fifth kingdom, perhaps corresponding to Hesiod's fourth. It is the "age" of the stone, which would itself be eternal and which would destroy the four preceding kingdoms:

As you looked, a stone was cut out by no human hand, and it smote the image on its feet of iron and clay, and broke them in pieces; the iron, the clay, the bronze, the silver, and the gold all together were broken in pieces, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing floors; and the wind carried them away, so that not a trace of them could be found. But the stone that struck the image became a great mountain and filled the whole earth. (Dan. 2::34-35).

And in the days of those kings the God of heaven will set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, nor shall its sovereignty be left to another people. It shall break in pieces all these kingdoms and bring them to an end, and it shall stand forever; just as you saw that a stone was cut from a mountain by no human hand, and that it broke in pieces the iron, the bronze, the clay, the silver, and the gold. (Dan. 2::44-45).

This kingdom or "age" has its Parallel in Chapter seven where the description occurs of the dominion of the one like unto a son of man, everlasting and indestructible (Dan. 7::1-14). It must be noted that Hesiod's age of the heroes is the penultimate one in his scheme, followed by the fifth age which is the most degenerate of them all. The fifth age in the Book of Daniel is different in that it is ultimate and eternal.

Hesiod's fifth age is that of iron, and it is quite clearly the most degenerate one:

After this Zeus of the wide brows
 established yet one more

generation of men, the fifth, to be
on the fertile earth.

And I wish that I were not any part
of the fifth generation
of men, but had died before it came,
or been born afterward.
For here now is the age of iron. Never by daytime
will there be an end to hard work and pain,
nor in the night
to weariness, when the gods will send anxieties
to trouble us.
Yet here also there shall be some good things
mixed with the evils.
But Zeus will destroy this generation of mortals
also,
in the time when children, as they are born,
grow gray on the temples,
when the father no longer agrees with the children,
nor children with their father,
when guest is no longer at one with host,
nor companion to companion,
when your brother is no longer your friend,
as he was in the old days.
Men will deprive their parents of all rights,
as they grow old,
and people will mock them too,
babbling bitter words against them,
harshly, and without shame in the sight of the gods;
not even to their aging parents will they give back
what once was given.
Strong of hand, one man shall seek
the city of another.
There will be no favour for the man
who keeps his oath, for the righteous
and the good man, rather men shall give their praise
to violence
and the doer of evil. Right will be in the arm.
Shame will
not be. The vile man will crowd his better out,
and attack him
with twisted accusations and swear an oath
to his story.
The spirit of Envy, with grim face
and screaming voice, who delights
in evil, will be the constant companion
of wretched humanity,
and at last Memesis and Aidos, Decency and Respect,
shrouding
their bright forms in pale mantles, shall go
from the wide-wayed
earth back on their way to Olympos,
forsaking the whole race
of mortal men, and all that will be left by them

to mankind
will be wretched pain. And there shall be no defense
against evil. 55

In the Book of Daniel, the kingdom or "age" of iron
is the most degenerate; it is, too, the most destructive:

And there shall be a fourth kingdom, strong as
iron, because iron breaks into pieces and shatters
all things; and like iron which crushes, it shall
break and crush all these. And as you saw the feet
and toes partly of potter's clay and partly of iron,
it shall be a divided kingdom; but some of the firm-
ness of iron shall be in it, just as you saw iron
mixed with the miry clay. And as the toes of the
feet were partly of iron and partly of clay, so
the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly brit-
tle. As you saw the iron mixed with miry clay,
so they will mix with one another in marriage, but
they will not hold together, just as iron does
not mix with clay. (Dan. 2:40-43).

This kingdom will be finally destroyed, not by Zeus, of
course, but by God. This fourth kingdom is generally
identified with that of Greece.⁵⁶

In the Pahlavi literature, the iron age is also the
most degenerate, and it represents "the apostate and other
villains".

Fourth, the period mingled with iron is this, in
which is much propagation of the authority of the
apostate and other villains, as regards the de-
struction of the reign of religion, the weaken-
ing of every kind of goodness and virtue, and the
disappearance of honour and wisdom from the coun-
tries of Iran. 57

And that which was mixed with iron is the evil
sovereignty of the demons with dishevelled hair
of the race of Wrath, and when it is the end of
the tenth hundredth winter of thy millenium, O
Zaratust the Spitaman. 58

Apart from these ages, the Pahlavi literature has intro-
duced yet others which refer to epochs which are later than
Hesiod, and later than the time of the author of the Book of

Daniel.

J.W. Swain has argued for a Persian origin of the four-empire theory.⁵⁹ But that is a different matter from the connection of the four empires or kingdoms or "ages" with metals. This association with metals is found in Babylonia, Persia, Greece, and Rome (Ovid's Metamorphoses I::89-150), and in the Book of Daniel. But as we have tried to show, the author of the Book of Daniel does not appear to have based his metallic ages on a Persian source because of the late date of the Pahlavi writings. The same applies to Ovid's Metamorphoses. Thus we are left with Greece and Babylonia. However, the identity of the metals mentioned in the Book of Daniel with those mentioned in Hesiod's Works and Days, namely, gold, silver, bronze and iron, is highly suggestive of borrowing and adaptation on the part of the author of the Book of Daniel. One cannot, of course, be more definite than that. Swain has dwelt at length on the four-empire schema, but the definite connection with metals has still to be explained, and Swain has not shown that this originated with Persia.

David Flusser also supports a Persian origin, but what we have already said about the date of the Pahlavi texts applies here as well.⁶⁰

A Possible Babylonian Background

The question may also be approached from another angle, namely, that of a possible Babylonian provenance. We learn that the Babylonians had been known to reflect on the course of world history and that they had a scheme of ages of the world based on the planetary movements.⁶¹ We learn further, that the Babylonian doctrine which "enquires into the origin of things and the development of the world from its beginnings in chaos to its renewal in future aeons" has spread over the whole world.⁶² Among the aspects of the Babylonian doctrine of the ages of the world are the following characteristics:

- (1) There was an age of perfection or of pure happiness at the beginning.
- (2) The doctrine came later on to be based on the connection of the planets with the metals silver, gold and copper. Silver was the lunar metal, gold the solar, and copper the metal of Istar-Venus.
- (3) Since the Babylonian concept gave first place to Marduk as solar god, the golden age came to be predominant. Thus we eventually have this order: golden, silver, and copper.⁶³
- (4) The times began to degenerate, and so a fourth metallic age was introduced, the iron age, which represented times of distress and evil, cursing and tribulation. Soderblom refers to the Babylonian Omens which often mention this time as one opposed to the age of the deliverer:

When such and such things happen in heaven, then will the clear become dull, the pure dirty, the lands will fall into confusion, prayers will not be heard, the signs of the prophets will become unfavourable.⁶⁴

In the Babylonian scheme, the fourth or iron age is the most degenerate. Thus we have the ages of gold, silver, copper (bronze?) and iron.

Whether this is the source of the Danielic metallic kingdoms or ages, cannot be established with certainty. We also have to reckon with the possibility that the ultimate source of both the Greek and the Iranian metallic ages may well be Babylonian. Martin Hengel has referred to the "astonishing connections between the mythology and wisdom of the ancient East and the spiritual world of ancient Greece, in which at this early epoch the Greeks were predominantly the recipients".⁶⁵ He suggests that these oriental influences were not limited to poets like Homer and Hesiod, but even also to Plato and Aristotle, and that the Greeks were well aware of this fact. Hengel continues:

We must therefore reckon with the possibility that parallels to Greek conceptions emerge, without it being possible for us to infer a direct dependence,

as these might go back to a common oriental background. Furthermore, despite the unity of the culture of the Eastern Mediterranean in the Persian period; we should bear in mind the possibility that analogous phenomena may have arisen which are not to be explained by causal derivations and relationships of dependence, because certain notions simply matured and were expressed quite independently in different places at the same time. 66

There is, of course, a distinction between an ultimate as against an immediate source. And while the ultimate source of the metallic ages may well be Babylonia, in all probability the immediate source of the Danielic metallic ages may have been Hesiod's Works and Days.

CONCLUSION

Our investigation has shown that the authors of the Book of Daniel and the Pahlavi writings were both heirs to a tradition of metallic ages of the world. However, there are differences between the Danielic and Iranian schemes which make it difficult for one to conclude that the author of the Book of Daniel was indebted to the Iranian authors. Moreover, the Pahlavi authors apply some of their ages to periods much later than the time of the Book of Daniel, and that they add many metallic ages which are not found in the latter book. Both sets of authors use or mention metals found in Hesiod's Works and Days, composed in the eighth century B.C. Whether there is conscious historicising on the part of the Danielic and Pahlavi authors, it is difficult to say; but the possibility cannot be ruled out.

It has also been shown that both Jews and Iranians had been under Greek rule and influence, and that both had been influenced by the Hellenistic culture of the times. One strong possibility therefore, is that both sets of authors were debtors to a common Greek source, and that that source was Hesiod's Works and Days.

If we approach the subject from another angle, one may even posit an ultimate Babylonian background or proven-

ance. The Babylonians had a system of metallic ages of the world, long before the Greeks perhaps, and the metals are much the same generally as those which appear in the Danielic ages. The fourth age, that of iron, is the most degenerate, just as it is in the Danielic and Iranian schemes. Since both Jews and Iranians came under Babylonian influence for a while, there is even the possibility that they may have been familiar with the Babylonian cosmology and so with the metallic ages of the latter. They may therefore have adapted them to their peculiar historical circumstances.

Thus in the light of all this, the thesis of this chapter is that the author of the Book of Daniel, far from borrowing the concept of the metallic ages from Iranian sources, may have adapted Hesiod's ages. It is also probable that the ultimate source was Babylonian.

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CHAPTER V - THE IDEA OF THE RESURRECTION

The subject of the resurrection in the Book of Daniel appears in Chapter XII:

At that time shall arise Michael the great prince who has charge of your people. And there shall be a time of trouble such as never has been since there was a nation till that time, but at that time your people shall be delivered, everyone whose name shall be found written in the book.

And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.

And those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the firmament, and those who turn many to righteousness, like the stars for ever and ever.
(Dan. 12::1-3).

In his vision the seer is told that with Antiochus' death the final consummation would begin, and that Michael, the prince and patron angel of the Jewish people, would play an active part in these events, championing the cause of his people. The great tribulation leading up to this consummation, with a description of the last times, would usher in the triumph of God's kingdom. There is a progression in the unfolding of these eschatological events.

(1) There is the deliverance. Those who would be delivered would be God's people, his faithful servants who had remained faithful to the Law during the fierce persecutions, and consequently, whose names would be found written in the book. It has been thought that the book referred to here is a "register of the names of the theocratic community on earth from which, for cause, a name may be blotted out", so that "the idea is that those who had been faithful and thus proved they belonged to the Saints of God, had been recorded as members of the new kingdom".¹

(2) There is a partial resurrection, not a universal one. It is only "many" of those who sleep in the dust of the earth who will rise, but this time not only the faithful

ones will do so to attain everlasting life, but also the wicked and apostate ones. These latter will rise only to be objects of shame and eternal contempt. It is, then, a resurrection of the righteous as well as of the wicked, although not of all the righteous and all the wicked. This resurrection differs from the one mentioned in Isaiah 26:19; in that there it is God's faithful and righteous ones only who will rise, "thy dead", in opposition to the "other lords", the oppressors of God's people. These lords are now dead, never more to rise, who are destroyed and whose remembrance has been blotted out.² The resurrection, too, is not national, neither is it figurative, but individual and actual, different from the figurative and national resurrection which we find in the Book of Ezekiel.³

(3) After the resurrection there will be the separation and the meting out of rewards and punishments. This implies judgement, even if this is not explicitly mentioned, for it seems clear from the reference to the book that separation will be based on the list in the book. Those whose names are in the book have them there because they have been judged to be righteous and worthy. Viewed in the context of the acute religious crisis of the hour, the two groups envisaged in the separation are the faithful Jews who had been martyred in the Antiochan persecution, and those apostates, those unfaithful to the Law, the compromisers, who must be raised also in order to receive on earth the just punishment for their apostasy. Whether this "some" also includes the Hellenizing Greeks who may have died, is not clear from the text itself as it stands, but the possibility cannot be excluded.

(4) Among those who rise to everlasting life, two groups are singled out for special mention and honour. These are first of all, the "wise", who as leaders of the people under the ordeal, strove to instruct, encourage and inspire their fellowmen, and who themselves perished in the debacle. They will shine as lights with a brightness like that of the firmament. Perhaps the Septuagint rendering as

"the luminaries of heaven" brings out the sense more clearly. In any case the text reflects astral language, so that some of the just, the wise, will outshine their colleagues in brilliance, just as some stars stand out from the others on account of their brilliance. This special brilliance will be the reward of their special role in the religious emergency. There are also the "justifiers of many". They are the ones who turned many to righteousness and encouraged them to do the right thing in the crisis by their precept and example.⁴ These too, shall shine as the stars. There may not be any fundamental difference between the "firmament of heaven" and the "stars of heaven", because both descriptions are meant to show the special honour in which these two groups stand in the eschatological kingdom.

The question must now be asked whether this doctrine of the resurrection is a natural development from a religious thought native to the Old Testament, and so to the Judaeo-Hebraic understanding of God's plan and purpose in history; or whether, as some have maintained, it has been strongly influenced by Zoroastrian ideas. For instance O.S. Rankin thinks that the Book of Daniel has been strongly influenced by Iranian conceptions for its doctrine of the resurrection. Thus he says:

The Book of Daniel, which exhibits marked dependency upon Persian (Zoroastrian) conceptions in its reference to the four world-periods, in its angelology, in its picture of the destructive fire proceeding from before the throne of God, and most probably in its description of Jave as the Ancient of Days (Ahura Mazda or Zarvan) may well be credited with dependence for its doctrine of resurrection upon the same source where this doctrine is characteristic. 5

It must be stated that nowhere in his book has Rankin proven that "marked dependency upon Persian...conceptions" which he has mentioned above. The use of such expressions as "most probably", and "may well be credited", shows that he has not reached any certainty on these points. In any

case, a refutation of the arguments for a Persian influence in the areas of angelology, the fire proceeding from the divine throne, and the description of Yahweh as the Ancient of Days has already been made in Chapters II, and III of this Thesis.

T.H. Gaster, too, supports the thesis of Iranian influence. His strong statement ought to be quoted here. Speaking of the Danielic doctrine of the resurrection, and stating that positive reference to it in the Old Testament occurs only in the late book of Daniel, he goes on to say:

Written during the oppressive reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, this passage does not represent a natural development of previous Hebrew thinking but is simply a clever exploitation of popular "pagan" notions, designed, on the one hand, to reassure the devout, and on the other, to hoist the infidels with the petard of their own apostatic beliefs, for it is not difficult to recognize in the figure of Michael a thinly disguised version of the Iranian Saoshyant, the Saviour who will come at the end of the present era to vindicate the righteous, discomfit the wicked and resurrect the dead; while the condemnation of the faithless to everlasting shame echoes the fate assigned to them in Mazdean and Zoroastrian teaching (e.g. Zend Avesta, Yasht 16; Bundahesh 11::6). 6

Gaster's arguments will be dealt with later on in this chapter, but his statement is mentioned here as an example of a strong opinion on Iranian influence.⁷

We must now enquire into the Zoroastrian doctrine of the resurrection before we are able to draw any worthwhile conclusions. In doing so, it is necessary to state that our enquiry will be based on the teaching of the Gathas and of the Younger Avesta only, for the following reasons:

(1) The Gathas, the oldest portion of the Avesta, are believed to embody the ipsissima verba of Zarathustra and to date back to the seventh century B.C. or even earlier.⁸ They are believed, further, to contain the prophet's teachings and the nucleus of his discourses.⁹

(2) The Younger (Later) Avesta develops the ideas contained in the Gathas, and although they differ both in theme and style

from the Gathas, they are generally believed to be contemporaneous with the Achaemenian period (558-523 B.C.)¹⁰ Thus both the Gathas and the Younger Avesta would antedate the Book of Daniel.

(3) The Pahlavi literature, which further develops the teaching of the Gathas and of the Younger Avesta, belongs to the Sassanian period and later, down into the ninth century A.D. Although they are said to preserve old material no longer part of the Avestan literature, they are also said to include works completed or written in the time of the Abbasids, around 749-847 A.D. after the downfall of the Sassanian Empire. Furthermore, additions are believed to have been made to some of the Pahlavi books as late as the end of the eleventh century A.D. The Pahlavi literature would thus fall outside the scope of this investigation.

The Zoroastrian Eschatology

The Zoroastrian doctrine of the resurrection is set within the general eschatological framework; thus it is necessary to say here something about the Zoroastrian teaching on the fate of the soul after death.

For the first three nights after death, the soul is believed to hover around the body, and it experiences joy or sorrow depending on the deeds done during life on earth.¹¹ On the fourth day the soul leaves the earth in a perfumed breeze if the individual was righteous, or if he was wicked he would be met by a strong, stifling stench. The soul is also met by either a beautiful maiden or a hideous hag according to its earthly deeds.¹² On arrival at the Chinvat Bridge or Bridge of the Separator, the individual judgement then takes place, and rewards and punishments are meted out. This judgement takes place in the presence of the gods Mithra, Sraosha and Rashnu, and the judgements are decided as the deeds are weighed in a balance.¹³

The Chinvat Bridge grows broader and easier to cross as the righteous soul ascends it to heaven, but it grows

narrower and narrower in the case of the wicked soul until that soul falls into the great abyss of hell within the bowels of the earth.¹⁴ After the individual judgement, the righteous soul embarks on a journey to heaven, passing on the way through the abodes of Good Thought, Good Works and Good Words in the sphere of the stars, moon and sun.¹⁵

Heaven is described as a place of Eternal Light, and the house of song, a fair world, the dwelling of Good Thought or Paradise Eternal where Ahura Mazda dwells in joy.¹⁶ On the other hand, the wicked soul descends through the spheres of Evil Thoughts, Evil Words and Evil Works where life is unbearable in the extreme, and where one experiences gloom and loneliness.¹⁷

The Resurrection

The resurrection is described in the context of the Millenium, which is really a preparation of all mankind for the eternal life and the perfecting of the world. It is a blessed consummation in which all should have a share.

We sacrifice unto the awful kingly glory, made by Mazda....That will cleave unto the victorious Saoshyant and his helpers, when he shall restore the world, which will 'thenceforth' never grow old and never die, never decaying and never rotting, ever living and ever increasing, master of its wish, when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, and the world will be restored at its wish. When the creation will grow deathless - the prosperous creation of the Good Spirit, - and the Drug shall perish, though she may rush on every side to kill the holy beings; she and her hundredfold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord. ¹⁸

I proclaim the Airyema-ishyo as the greatest of all authoritative prayers, O Spitama! as the most influential and helpful for progress; and may the Saoshyants (who would further us) use it and revere it. I am speaking in accordance with it, O Spitama! and therefore I shall rule as sovereign over creatures which are mine, I who am Ahura Mazda.

Let no one rule as Angra Mainyu over realms that are his own, O Zarathustra Spitama! Let Angra Mainyu be hid beneath the earth. Let the Daevas likewise disappear. Let the dead arise (unhindered by these foes), and let bodily life be sustained in these now lifeless bodies. 19

During the great crisis which ushers in the final change of the world, there will be a decisive division and consequent separation of the evil and unrighteous from the good and righteous, and this will be followed by the establishment of Ahura Mazda's sovereignty in the Kingdom of Good.²⁰

A mighty conflict is thought to precede the end of the world and in this conflict Saoshyant will play a prominent part. The powers of Light and Darkness are ranged against each other at this time, and in the struggle the righteous Saoshyant will be victorious. He will renovate the world, will make the living immortal, and will cause the dead to rise. In this work he will be assisted by certain righteous friends.²¹

Critique

(1) While the Zoroastrian position is that of an elaborate doctrine of heaven and hell, the author of the Book of Daniel does not dwell as such on the fate of the individual after death. His view of the fate of the individual echoes the general Old Testament view. He appears to take for granted the traditional position that those "who sleep in the dust of the earth" (Dan. 12:2), share the common lot of the dead. Sleep is an image for death familiar enough in the Scriptures,²² and so also is the figure of "dust" as the dwelling place of the departed, a figure which is used synonymously with grave and Sheol.²³

All this is in keeping with the traditional Old Testament view of Sheol as the abode of the dead. Furthermore, this is in keeping with what we know about similar Mesopotamian ideas about the afterlife, as also of Canaanite ideas on the same subject. For a treatment of the Mesopotamian

similarities one has only to refer to Gaster's article on the abode of the dead,²⁴ and to Schubert's illuminating article on the idea of the resurrection in pre-Christian times.²⁵ This is part of the experience that the author of the Book of Daniel has to go by. It is not all, of course; the rest is the shared conviction of his people, born of a deep faith in the justice and power of God. Nonetheless as part of what he has to go by, the conception of Sheol or of the "dust of the earth" has undoubted relevance, and this conception was not Zoroastrian but rather, Semitic, Mesopotamian, Canaanite, Hebrew.

(2) According to Zoroastrian teaching, the soul is separated from the body after death. The soul migrates to the other world while the body is exposed to destruction by wild beasts and birds.²⁶ We learn moreover, that the burial of corpses was expressly forbidden.²⁷ All this is contrary to Jewish ideas of the unity of the body, ideas which are shared with the Mesopotamians,²⁸ and which also explain the importance to the Hebrew mentality and custom of preserving the corpse and of insisting upon rites of proper burial for the dead. It explains too, the Jewish horror at the desecration of a dead body and of burning this or the bones, or that a corpse should be left unburied.²⁹ Eichrodt's comment on this point is quite pertinent:

What survives (therefore) is not a part of the living man, but a shadowy image of the whole man.³⁰

(3) According to the Zoroastrian doctrine the different lots of the good and the wicked are determined at once after death, and until the time of the general resurrection they come to experience bliss or woe in a preliminary way. This is quite different from the Old Testament view where the grave or Sheol is the abode of all the dead without distinction, even though they may retain their earthly ranks.³¹ Furthermore, nowhere in the Old Testament is the abode of the dead regarded as a place of punishment. There are no moral distinctions, no difference between good and evil,

and the shades are incapable of receiving rewards and punishments.³²

The author of the Book of Daniel seems to share this general view of the fate of the dead, and for the "many who sleep in the dust of the earth", the silence of the grave appears to be final, and they rise out of it only by the direct power and intervention of God who will judge these and these only. Some of them he will consign to everlasting life, others he will relegate to shame and everlasting contempt. Clearly this is no doctrine of heaven and hell, of rewards and punishments that follow immediately after death. The resurrection of the many takes place now during, or soon after the crisis, and the judgement takes place after the resurrection. As H.H. Rowley has remarked:

He (the author of the Book of Daniel), thinks of no general resurrection, but only the resurrection of some dead, and he thinks of that resurrection as imminent in his day, and as a resurrection to life on earth.³³

This is as it should be, seeing that there are no details of speculation in the Book of Daniel as to the fate of the dead in general, or even of those many. For him they must come out of the silence of the great beyond to be judged, rewarded or punished on earth. As to the fate of the rest of his compatriots or of other peoples who have died, he is utterly silent. Gaster, in our opinion, has not taken sufficiently into account this distinction between the selective resurrection on the one hand, and the general resurrection of the Zoroastrians, on the other. He speaks in his article of "the end of the present era".³⁴ In Zoroastrian teaching this refers to the end of the world and to its renovation and the general resurrection. But as we have pointed out, in the Book of Daniel, the partial resurrection is to take place long before that time.

The idea of the vindication of the righteous, and of the condemnation of the faithless, is not a specifically Zoroastrian doctrine. It runs like a thread throughout the

teaching of the Old Testament, especially in the Books of Psalms and Proverbs.³⁵

(4) The Zoroastrian account of the resurrection is the enunciation of an elaborate doctrine of a general judgement and renewal of mankind at the end of the world. The millenium is a sort of preparation of all mankind for eternal salvation and a universal and blessed eschatological consummation.

The author of the Book of Daniel does not look that far ahead. In this book the idea of the resurrection as set forth has all the air of restraint and hesitancy. As yet it is partial or selective, and is set forth in the context of an acute religious crisis brought about in a tense atmosphere of violent persecution during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. It is the outcome of a deep faith in the justice and sovereignty of God in this national, individual and religious emergency. It has not assumed the cosmic aspect that is characteristic of the Zoroastrian view. Just some of the righteous and some of the wicked will rise bodily to be judged. Whether that "some of the wicked" is restricted to Israelites only, we are not told.³⁶

(5) As regards Gaster's statement about Michael's being a thinly disguised version of the Iranian Saoshyant, it ought to be observed that Michael does not seem to play as prominent a part at the resurrection as is assigned to Saoshyant. This end time is not the end of the world as yet. Michael is the patron angel of the Jewish people and is a member of the Council of Yahweh. As the prince of Israel he champions their cause against the princes of Greece and Persia, the angelic counterparts of the Greek and Persian Kingdoms. This certainly echoes the oriental way of thinking, where things done in heaven have their direct effect on what happens on earth. Thus they are archetypes of terrestrial events.³⁷ Whether we must go further and see in this account of Michael the one who actually brings about the resurrection, is something the Biblical

text does not allow us to do. It is vague on this matter, whereas the Zoroastrian writings leave one in no doubt that Saoshyant is responsible for bringing about the renovation and resurrection. It is rather curious that in his article on Michael, Gaster makes no allusion to Saoshyant, and therefore no comparison between him and Michael.³⁸ We think that the burden of proof is on Gaster to show how "it is not difficult to recognize in the figure of Michael a thinly disguised version of the Iranian Saoshyant".

(6) The details that we have in the first four verses of the twelfth chapter of the Book of Daniel are really not sufficient to enable one to argue conclusively for a Zoroastrian influence on the Danielic doctrine of the resurrection. The evidence necessary is simply not available in the text. The tenor of these verses is decidedly more Jewish than Zoroastrian, as we have tried to show all along.

The Apocalyptic Matrix

Our Book of Daniel must be viewed against the background of the crisis which occasioned it. Although it alone of the many pseudepigraphic writings of that period gained entry into the Jewish canon, it was certainly part of the general religious temperament typical of the period, a temperament inspired in the main by the same religious crises and the same religious convictions and hope. Thus the Danielic idea of the resurrection cannot be treated in isolation from that of other apocalyptic compositions of the same general period. To an examination of ~~these~~ we now turn.

Second century authorities

I Enoch, Chapters 1-36, ca 170-167 B.C.³⁹

The resurrection will not be general. There are three classes of persons mentioned here; firstly the wicked who have already been punished for their earthly wrongs, are

not raised up from Sheol, but will remain there eternally:

Such has been made for the spirits of men who were not righteous but sinners, who were complete in transgression, and of the transgressors they shall be companions: but their spirits shall not be slain in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence. (I Enoch, 22:13).

Secondly, there are the wicked who had escaped punishment during their earthly life, and who are raised only to be transferred as disembodied spirits from Sheol to eternal punishment in Gehenna:

And such has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed on them in their lifetime. Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain till the great day of judgement and punishment and torment of those who curse for ever, and retribution for their spirits. There he shall bind them for ever. (I Enoch 22:10-11).

Thirdly, there are the righteous who will rise in their bodies to eat from the tree of life in the kingdom of the Messiah here on earth. The centre of that kingdom will be Jerusalem:

And such a division has been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water.

And such a division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners. (I Enoch 22:9,12).

Here, then, the resurrection is not general, but selective. Only the righteous Israelites will rise in the strictest sense of the term, since the wicked who are raised, do so as disembodied spirits only to be transferred immediately to Gehenna. The corporeal resurrection of the righteous Israelites is similar to that idea in the Book of Daniel, but the difference is that not all the righteous will be raised, according to the latter book.

I Enoch, Chapters 83-90, ca 166-161 B.C.⁴⁰

The author is concerned with the condition of his people, a condition which seems to give the lie to belief in God's righteousness and justice. He speaks of the bodily resurrection of the righteous Israelites who will participate in the Messianic Kingdom:

And thereafter those who were clothed in white and had seized me by the hand (who had taken me up before), and the hand of that ram also seizing hold of me, they took me up and set me down in the midst of those sheep before the judgement took place. And those sheep were all white, and their wool was abundant and clean. And all that had been destroyed and dispersed, and all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of heaven assembled in that house, and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to His house. (I Enoch, 90::31-33).

There is here no general resurrection, but a partial one embracing the righteous Israelites only, and these will rise to participate in the eternal bliss.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, ca 109-106 B.C.⁴¹

According to their teaching there will be a resurrection in which the first to rise will be the patriarchs, secondly, the twelve sons of Jacob, and thirdly, a general resurrection of those who are left, the righteous unto glory and the wicked unto shame. The future kingdom would be on this earth and it would be eternal:

And after these things shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob arise unto life, and I and my brethren shall be the chiefs of the tribes of Israel: Levi first, I second, Joseph third, Benjamin fourth, Simeon fifth, Issachar sixth, and so all in order... And ye shall be the people of the Lord, and have one tongue;
And there shall be there no spirit of deceit of Beliar,
For he shall be cast into the fire for ever.
And they who have died in grief shall arise in joy,
And they who were poor for the Lord's sake shall

awake to life.
 And the harts of Jacob shall run in joyfulness,
 And the eagles of Israel shall fly in gladness;
 And all the people shall glorify the Lord for ever.
 (Test. of Judah, Ch. 25).

And then shall ye see Enoch, Noah and Shem,
 And Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, rising on
 the right hand in gladness.
 Then shall we also rise, each one ober our tribe;
 worshipping the king of heaven, (who appeared
 upon earth in the form of a man in humility..
 And as many as believe on him on the earth shall
 rejoice with him). Then also all men shall rise,
 some unto glory and some unto shame. (Test. of Ben-
 jamin, 10::6-8).

We see here that the resurrection will be universal, that it
 will follow a certain order, and that a judgement will take
 place after the resurrection.

The Book of Jubilees, ca 150-100 B.C. 42

This Book does not mention a bodily resurrection, and
 the wording can be interpreted to mean a spiritual resurrec-
 tion, or an entry of the righteous into a state of immortal-
 ity:

Their bones shall rest in the earth and their
 spirits shall have much joy, and they shall know
 that it is the Lord who executes judgement, and
 shows mercy to hundreds and thousands and to all
 that love Him. (Jubilees 23::31).

This resurrection is to embrace the Israelites only, although
 the book mentions the eventual repentance and renewal of all
 Israel (Jubilees 23::16,26, 27-29). There is a reference to
 the invasion of Palestine by the Gentiles, but nothing is
 said about the fate of the Gentiles (Jubilees 23::23-24).
 This gives the impression that the author of the Book is
 thinking only of Israelites, and if so, then the resurrec-
 tion, such as there is, is not universal. The wicked have
 no share in it.

We have reviewed only the second century authorities, but
 the same tendency prevails in the first century ones as was
 found in the second century compositions. The resurrection

is sometimes a bodily one, at other times it is a spiritual one. But in all of them it is selective, that is it is of the righteous Israelites only. The wicked have no part in it. This is the general testimony of I Enoch, Chapters 91-104; I Enoch, Chapters 37-71; The Psalms of Solomon.⁴³ II Maccabees is an Apocryphal work which belongs to the first century,⁴⁴ and the teaching of this book concerning the resurrection is found especially in Chapter seven, all of which is relevant to our discussion. Nickelsburg has given a good analysis of its contents.⁴⁵ According to this book, there will be a bodily resurrection of the righteous Israelites to eternal life in the community of the righteous in an earthly Messianic Kingdom.

Nickelsburg has contended that the Assumption of Moses belongs to the second century B.C. rather than to the period 7 - 30 A.D. If this dating were to be accepted, this would be another witness of the second century to the sort of milieu which created the apocalyptic writings just considered.⁴⁶

Our examination of the doctrine of the resurrection in the apocalyptic and apocryphal compositions of the second century (and so contemporaneous with the Book of Daniel), leads us to certain important conclusions about that idea in the Book of Daniel.

(1) The historical occasion for the emergence of the belief in Judaism was the acute religious crisis of the hour, and not the result of the elaborate formulation of a doctrine of heaven and hell and of the afterlife, after the Zoroastrian manner.

(2) The details about the scope of the resurrection were not uniform. This argues for much fluidity of thought on the subject at that time. The resurrection was not conceived of as general, except in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Generally it was to be partial or selective, in some cases involving only righteous Israelites, in other cases the righteous Israelites and their wicked compatriots or foreign op-

pressors. In one case, that of the Book of Jubilees, the author looks forward to the renewal of all Israel. This is still selective. The general tenor of all these writings is very different from the Zoroastrian view of a universal resurrection of all mankind.

(3) The judgement and the meting out of punishments and rewards takes place after the resurrection, which in most cases is to be bodily, and which is to take place on this earth.

(4) Even if some or all of the wicked do rise, they will be punished and will not inherit the eternal Messianic Kingdom. This, again, is vastly different from the Iranian doctrine of a universal resurrection and salvation at the time of the renewal of all mankind.

The Book of Daniel belongs to this general universe of thought. The resurrection is selective, judgement and the meting out of rewards and punishments takes place after the event, the resurrection is of the righteous Israelites to everlasting life, and of the wicked and apostates to eternal shame and contempt. In keeping with the state of fluidity of thought, it does not dwell on the fate of the other righteous or of the other wicked; and finally, it was the product of an acute religious crisis. Had the Book of Daniel, and indeed the other writings investigated, been influenced by the Iranian doctrine, there would have been no diversity at all among them on this point, and alternatively, there would have been more uniformity of belief reflecting that influence. It would be well to quote Montgomery on the Danielic doctrine of the resurrection:

The doctrine of the resurrection breaks forth very naturally in our book as born of an emergency, and yet taking its place in a genetic catena of growing belief towards a necessary dogma. Moreover there is nothing cosmic in the belief there presented; some of the righteous, some of the wicked, of Israel alone, will arise in their bodies for judgement. 47

The end of the godless tyrant must have its positive foil in the bliss of the righteous; so the elder apocalypses concluded, e.g., Eze. 38-39, Joel 4(3). Those prospected the future redeemed Israel of earth living free of enemies and of the curses of earth (e.g. Is 4); death was generally accepted in a common-sense spirit as inevitable; at best a long life might be expected. But a new factor had entered now. The righteous had been martyred for the religion of the One God, and what was their meed? The growing individualism of the age, marked in the piety of saints and the heroism of the Maccabean minority, stung by the sense of lack of equity in the laws of nature, demanded the personal vindication of the martyrs and the confessors of the religion. The doctrine of the resurrection of the dead was the precipitate of the problem... From the time of the Maccabean struggle that belief entered to become one of the few chief dogmas of Judaism. 48

The Old Testament Matrix

To refer once again to Gaster's article, we may note that he maintained that the passage on the resurrection in the Book of Daniel "does not represent a natural development of previous Hebrew thinking..." 49 With this position we must disagree, and so this section of the present chapter will treat of the Old Testament matrix of the resurrection idea.

(1) The growing individualism and sense of personal fellowship with God.

In the pre-prophetic times the belief in individual retribution was not widely held, because the fate of the individual was thought to be closely bound with that of the nation. The major breakthrough came with Jeremiah, a man of intense religious sensitivity and deep religious experience. In his confessions, his doctrine of individual responsibility, and the idea of the New Covenant, he has given us a teaching which has earned him the name of father of personal religion. 50

This teaching was further developed by Ezekiel, who taught that every soul belonged to God rather than to the family or

clan or tribe or nation. This comes out clearly in such passages as Chapters 3::16-21; 24::12-23; 18 and 30::1-20, all of which are important for our understanding of Ezekiel's individualism. Thus every soul was held to exist in direct and immediate relationship to God, and to be responsible to him. With this individualism went moral freedom in which a man could help shape his spiritual destiny (Ezk 18::3-32). There were difficulties in this individualism which the writers of the Books of Job and Ecclesiastes were later to highlight. R.H.Charles has pointed out some of these defects,⁵¹ but these do not, in our opinion, vitiate the important and positive impact of this individualism on subsequent Jewish eschatology, especially as this relates to the doctrine of the resurrection.

The question of the individual's communion with God as the basis of his trust and hope has found noble expression in the Psalter especially in those Psalms that describe the personal, intimate fellowship between God and the pious soul, a relationship it was inconceivable that death should or would destroy. We may cite such Psalms as IV, XVI, XVII, XXIII, XXVII, XXXVI, XCI, CIII and others. Eichrodt refers to this intimate communion as

The fulness of life which transcends merely empirical living, and which is granted to the man who is bound to God's word and who perseveres in his service...⁵²

He goes on to state that such life

outweighs by far all the riches of life which proceed from the natural earthly goods, such as abundant harvests, a flourishing host of children, long life, honour, respect, and is the real good of life which alone bestows upon God's other gifts, their true meaning even within the whole scope of existence.⁵³

More than the notion of deep personal communion with God, Psalms 16, 17, 49 and 73 have been held to teach a doctrine of the resurrection. But we agree with Kirkpatrick that the texts will not bear this interpretation, and that this conclusion can

only be reached by an unsound exegesis of the passages concerned.⁵⁴

(a) Psalm 16:10-11

For thou dost not give me up to Sheol
or let thy godly one see the Pit.

Thou dost show me the path of life;
in thy presence there is fulness of joy,
in thy right hand are pleasures for evermore.

There are three possible interpretations of these verses, namely, we have here the doctrine of immortality or at least its germ, so that there will be no death for the Psalmist. Secondly there is an immediate translation to God's presence, that is there is a by-passing of the grave. Thirdly, they are an exclamation of confidence that so deep a fellowship with God as is manifestly enjoyed in the present life, cannot possibly be broken by death or by Sheol. We are inclined to hold to the third view in the light of the general tenor of the Psalm itself of intimate communion with God. Whether the Psalmist intended to postulate a resurrection, he has not done so here.

Mitchell Dahood thinks that this Psalm refers to a translation similar to the translations of Enoch and Elijah. This is a possible interpretation, but not the only one, as we have seen. Dahood translates the word hayyim (חַיִּים) as "life eternal" or eternal life, in verse 10.⁵⁵ But hayyim generally means "life" with the following nuances: physical life, life as welfare and happiness in the king's presence, as consisting of earthly felicity combined with spiritual blessedness. It connotes also sustenance and maintenance, and it occurs with olam (עוֹלָם), eternal only once, to give the rendering "eternal life" in Daniel 12:3.⁵⁶ Dahood has based his translation of the Hebrew hayyim on the Ugaritic word hym which he in turn translates "life eternal".⁵⁷ But note must also be taken of the alternative renderings of the same word by such scholars as John Gray, H.L. Ginsberg and G.R. Driver.⁵⁸ Dahood makes hym (life) synonymous with immortality (blmt), but the context does not require this. The sense is brought

out more clearly if we consider the following lines:

Hearken, I pray thee, Aqat the Youth!
Ask for silver, and I'll give it thee;
For gold and I'll bestow it on thee. 59

In other words, "Ask for silver, and you will get it. You may go a step further and ask for gold, that is, something more valuable than silver, and I will give that to you as well." So, too, may one paraphrase the passage which Dahood quotes:

Ask for life, O Aqat, the Youth.
Ask for life, and I'll give it thee;
for deathlessness (immortality) and I'll
bestow't on thee. 60

We may paraphrase thus: "Ask for life (hym) and I will go further and give you immortality (blmt)". The thought of these two passages is that of progression, that of ascending order of value in which each gift is to be different from the preceding one in value and quality: silver - gold; life - immortality. This criticism is also applicable to Dahood's use of "eternal life" where hayyim is used in other instances in the Books of Psalms and Proverbs. ⁶¹

(b) Psalm 17:15

As for me I shall behold thy face in righteousness.
When I awake, I shall be satisfied with beholding thy form.

This verse is the climax of the lot of the righteous saint in contrast to the lot of the wicked. Is the beholding of God's face in righteousness to take place in a resurrection life beyond the grave? Or is it to take place in the here and now on earth as the daily experience of one who retires at night and rises in the morning in continual fellowship with God? Moreover, does the word "awake", which in some contexts (e.g. Dan. 12:2) refers to a resurrection of the body, have the same meaning here?

Dahood has argued for this interpretation of the word behaqus (חִפּוּן) which he translates "at the resurrection",

rather than by the phrase "when I awake " of the Revised Standard Version.⁶² qis (קִּץ) is from the word qis (קִּץ) a verb used in the hiphil, and which connotes, among other things, to show signs of waking, to awake from sleep to some activity; it connotes also to wake from the sleep of death and is thus used in this way of the resurrection in Isaiah 26:19, and Daniel 12:2. It means, too, to awake from the sleep of stupor or of drunkenness.⁶³ With so many connotations and nuances, it is the context which will determine the sense in which the word is used at any given time. In Isaiah 26:19 and Daniel 12:2, the context is clear enough, but in Psalm 17:5 it is doubtful whether the Psalmist is thinking of death as such. In our opinion, the evidence does not support the doctrine of a resurrection. For one thing the Psalmist does not even mention death and Sheol, as does the author of Psalm 16. He is merely contrasting the present life of the saint with that of the wicked. So once again the emphasis seems to be on the living and intimate fellowship between the righteous Israelite and his God. But whether this fellowship will survive death is not stated so clearly here as in the preceding Psalm.⁶⁴

(c) Psalm 49:13-15

This is the fate of those who have foolish confidence,
the end of those who are pleased with their portion.

Like sheep they are appointed for Sheol;
Death shall be their shepherd;
straight to the grave they descend,
and their form shall waste away;
Sheol shall be their home.

But God will ransom my soul from the power of Sheol,
for he will receive me.

This Psalm does speak of a continued life of fellowship with God beyond death and the grave. Here there is no question of immortality or of the by-passing of death, because the Psalmist states in verse 10 that the wise and fool alike die; but he does state also that while the lot of the wicked is Sheol

(v.14), God will ransom his righteous servant from its power (v.15). Dahood interprets these verses as a reference to a translation similar to those of Elijah and Enoch.⁶⁵ However, the context does not bear out this interpretation, precisely because the righteous person experiences death in the same way as the wicked, and there is no translation or assumption in the experience which the Psalmist here depicts.

He does not tell us either how this ransoming is to occur, and we can only presume that a resurrection may be in mind. We are not told either whether this gracious act of deliverance extends to all the righteous both before and after him. What he does say, however, is significant, for it teaches unambiguously that God can and will rescue his righteous one from the power of Sheol and will receive him to eternal fellowship with himself. As a postulate of faith based on the experience of an intimate fellowship with God here and now, this teaching is a great leap forward.

(d) Psalm 73::23-26

Nevertheless I am continually with thee;
thou dost hold my right hand.

Thou dost guide me with thy counsel,
and afterward thou wilt receive me to glory.

Whom have I in heaven but thee?
and there is nothing upon earth that I desire
besides thee.

My flesh and my heart fail,
but God is the strength of my heart and my
portion forever.

These verses are not so unambiguous about the individual's future hope as are the words of Psalm 49, and it would be unwise to construct on them a doctrine of the resurrection. The Psalmist does indeed speak of the destruction of those who are unfaithful to God (v.27), but not because death, and consequently Sheol, are the lot of the wicked as against that of the righteous; however, the implication of verse 28 seems to be that of verses 23-26, namely, that God has something good in store for those who are faithful to him.

As far as he himself is concerned, for the Psalmist, God is his refuge and he will continue to live in intimate fellowship with him here on earth in spite of the apparent prosperity of the wicked. On earth, he will continue to proclaim God's goodness.

To sum up, then, only Psalms 16 and 49 speak unequivocally of a life of continuing fellowship with God beyond death, but as yet there is no clearly defined doctrine of an after-life in these passages. These two Psalms, along with the others we have just examined, have this one thing in common, they stress the deep, intimate communion and fellowship that the righteous enjoy with God, but it is a relationship so deep that it is inconceivable that it can or should be broken by death.

The question of the growing individualism has brought another ingredient to the fore, that is the question of retributive justice as seen not only in Psalms 49 and 73, but also in the Book of Job and the Book of Ecclesiastes. The ideas of individual worth and individual retribution seemed irreconcilable, and the belief that there was a just distribution of deserts on the basis of men's conduct was not confirmed by actual experience. On the contrary the wicked prospered, grew old, died in peace, and their descendants were established on the earth (Job 21). The protests of Job and the author of Ecclesiastes and of the authors of Psalms 49 and 73 are a corrective to the naive optimism presented in the books like those of Deuteronomy, Proverbs and certain of the Psalms (e.g. 37::25-26). It is contrary too, to a certain aspect of Ezekiel's teaching (e.g. Ezk. 18::19-32). These protests challenge this optimism and find that the meting out of rewards and punishments in this life does violence very often, to the principles of justice. Innocent men and women do suffer unfairly and unjustly while the wicked prosper. So these protesters represent a profound reflection on this problem. They declare that even if the pious do suffer unfairly in this life, this suffering is only temporary, and

the prosperity of the wicked is transient. They taught that God would correct this imbalance in his own way and in his own good time. In making this declaration they paved the way for the eventual belief in the resurrection in which God would vindicate his righteous servants and martyred heroes, even as he would punish the wicked in the body also.

Before leaving this section, we must deal with two passages in the Book of Job which are held to teach a doctrine of the resurrection of the body.

(i) Job 14:1-15.

R.H. Charles contends that there is an anticipation of the resurrection belief here, albeit a momentary one. Sheol, he says, is described as a place of temporary sojourn where one is sheltered from the wrongs of the present life until God summons his righteous servant back from there to a renewal of that fellowship.⁶⁶ But the text of this chapter will not bear this interpretation. On the contrary, man's hopeless lot is contrasted with that of a stump (vv 7-9, 10-12), and the author sees no hope whatever for man once he has died. Death and Sheol have the last word (vv 14-22)⁶⁷

(ii) Job 19:25-27.

The Revised Standard Version renders this as follows:

I know that my Redeemer lives,
and at the last he will stand upon the earth;
and after my skin has been thus destroyed,
then from my flesh shall I see God,

- whom I shall see on my side,
and my eyes shall behold, and not another.

Some scholars see in this passage a doctrine of the resurrection or of a belief in a blessed future life beyond the grave.⁶⁸ But does the author speak here of death and of life after death? We rather think not. Job is complaining about his present undeserved plight, and he denies any truth in the doctrine of his friends that his present sufferings are the direct result of an unfaithful life.

He denounces the injustice and inhumanity of Bildad's accusation, and he somehow believes that God will at last, in his own time and in his own way, vindicate him by upholding his integrity and restoring him to his former happiness.

Considered in their context, these words are an eloquent and profound expression of Job's faith that in the end God will right his wrong here on earth during this present life. This is amply borne out in the Epilogue when he is restored to his former prosperity in this life (Job 42:: 7-17). For a fair refutation of the view that this passage teaches a doctrine of the resurrection of the body one is referred to articles by M. Cordero, H.H. Rowley, and N.H. Snaithe. ⁶⁹

(2) The Belief that Sheol was not outside the scope of God's power and activity.

Parallel with the belief in Sheol as a grim and sinister place where fellowship with God was impossible, there was a belief that it was nonetheless not outside the scope of God's power. This is brought out in the instance represented by Psalm 139::7-8:

Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?
Or whither shall I flee from thy presence?
If I ascend to heaven, thou art there!
If I make my bed in Sheol, thou art there!

Admittedly one cannot posit a belief in the resurrection on the basis of these verses. The Psalmist declares that no part of his life, past, present or future, lies outside the scope of God's scrutiny, and that neither in life nor in death can man escape the power of God. He deals not so much with fellowship with God as with the universal range of God's power, a scope which embraces even Sheol. This is the necessary outcome of Yahwistic monotheism. Another passage in this same vein is that of I Samuel, 2::6:

The Lord kills and brings to life,
he brings down to Sheol and raises up.

(3) Cases of actual resurrections or restorations to life through the power of God.

These instances are as follows:

(i) I Kings 17:22. In response to Elijah's prayer, God restores life to the dead child of the widow of Zarephath.

(ii) II Kings 4:35. God does the same thing in response to Elisha's prayer in respect of the Shunnamite's dead child.

(iv) II Kings 13:21. A dead man was restored to life when his body came in contact with the bones of the prophet Elisha.

In these instances Yahweh restores the dead to life. That he does so through the instrumentality of his prophets does not diminish the significance of the fact, if we grant his perfect freedom to choose the manner in which he will carry out his will. However isolated and exceptional these instances might be, they are nonetheless a stubborn testimony to actual restorations to life in which Yahweh's power is shown to be able to reach the dead in Sheol and to rescue them from its power. This fact has to be reckoned with.

(4) Definite Teaching about the destruction of death, and of the resurrection of the dead in Isaiah 24-27.

These chapters are usually referred to as the Isaiah Apocalypse, and there are wide differences of opinion among scholars as to either the dating of it, or of its analysis and authorship. The general consensus, however, is that it belongs to the post-exilic period. Eissfeldt suggests that these chapters be understood

essentially as the combination of an apocalypse foretelling the end of the world and the breaking in of divine rule in Zion, and of a collection of songs on the downfall of a hostile city. 70

Three passages demand our attention.

(i) Isaiah 25:6-8.

The author refers to death as the veil that is spread

over all nations, the covering that is cast over all peoples. This God will destroy in the coming new age:

He will swallow up death forever, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from all faces, and the reproach of his people will he take away from all the earth; for the Lord has spoken. (25::9).

Thus God will vindicate and save his righteous servants, and by implication, he will punish the wicked. There is no mention of a resurrection, only the destruction of the enemy death, which was the lot of those pious ones. There will be no more death among those who are alive, and so there will be no more sorrow associated with mourning.

(ii) Isaiah 26::13-14

These words portray the state of utter helplessness and desperation of the pious of God vis-a-vis their oppressors:

O Lord our God,
other lords besides thee have ruled over us,
but thy name only we acknowledge.

They are dead, they will not live;
they are shades (שָׁדִים), they will not arise;
to the end that thou hast visited them with destruction
and wiped out all remembrance of them.

The lot of the oppressors is contrasted with that of the people of God, and these verses represent the typical Old Testament view of Sheol. These are rephaim, shades, and they are cut out of all remembrance (2 Sam. 12::23; Job 7::9-10; 10::21-22; Ecclesiastes 9::4-6, 10).

(iii) Isaiah 26::19.

Thy dead shall live, their bodies shall rise.
O dwellers in the dust, awake and sing for joy!
For thy dew is a dew of light,
And on the land of the shades thou wilt let it fall.

Here we have clear teaching about the resurrection. The oppressive lords are dead, they will not live; they are shades and so they will not arise. But God's dead, his faithful servants, will live and their bodies shall rise. The oppressive Lords are shades who dwell in the dust of the earth,

and for them there is no hope and no return. But the righteous dead, that is, the righteous shades, dwellers also in the dust of the earth, shall rise, and Sheol which is a land of gloom, will not be so any longer for them. For light shall break forth on this darkness and the righteous dead will come out thence (26::19b).

William Millar, in a recent monograph, has rendered verse 13a

O Yahweh, our God,
Lord, thou hast ruled us. 71

However, the plural verb לִי־יָדָה requires as its subject the word אֲדֹנִים (adonim), lords, which is the plural of the word אֲדֹן (adon), a word which does not refer exclusively to deity. It refers as well to human masters and superiors, human lords, husbands, etc.⁷² Lord, as vocative would require אֲדֹנֵנוּ (adonenu) to correspond with אֱלֹהֵנוּ (elohenu). This is the form, for instance in the Hebrew text of Psalm 8::1, Yahweh adonenu $\text{אֲדֹנֵנוּ אֱלֹהֵנוּ}$. Another fact which must be kept in mind is that we are here dealing with poetry and so with some compression. Thus we must understand the word אֲחֵרִים (aherim) other, to follow adonim, to give the rendering:

O Lord our God,
other lords (besides thee) have ruled us.

Millar renders verse 14b: The dead will not live!
The shades will not rise. 73

But once again, we are dealing with poetry, and so with a measure of compression, and therefore the word הֵמָּה (hem) they, should be understood. This would give us the rendering:

They are dead, they shall not live,
they are shades, they will not rise.

The context shows clearly that these words refer to the "other lords".

Millar renders verse 19a: ⁷⁴

Let Thy dead live!
Let Thy corpses rise!

He uses the Jussive instead of the imperfect. Both these tenses or moods have the same form in Hebrew, and so we must rely on the context to guide us, and the context here points to a contrast between the lot of the oppressive lords and that of the Lord's righteous servants. However, the Jussive in 19b is consonant with the rendering of ancient manuscripts and of the Dead Sea Scroll of the Book of Isaiah.⁷⁵ We would therefore render verse 19

Thy dead shall live,
their bodies shall rise.
Let them awake and let them sing for joy,
Those who dwell in the dust of the earth.
For thy dew is a dew of light
and on the land of the shades thou wilt let it fall.

The *raison d'être* for the resurrection is found in verses 15-18 which are sandwiched between verses 13-14 and verse 19. This *raison d'être* is the piety of the faithful people of God under stress even at the height of the crisis. The resurrection is to be a partial one, that is, it will be of the righteous Israelites only. It was born of a religious emergency and was the outcome of faith in the power and justice of God. Eichrodt suggests that the historical context was the period of anxiety "after the victorious career of Alexander the Great and the setting up of the kingdoms of the diadochi."⁷⁶

CONCLUSION

Our investigation has shown that the differences between the idea of the resurrection in the Book of Daniel and the one in Zoroastrianism are so wide that dependence of the former on the latter is not a reasonable postulate. But it has been shown also how the Old Testament provides a sufficient matrix for the resurrection doctrine in the Book of Daniel. Far from being the reproduction of Iranian beliefs, it was born during the time of a religious emergency

when the faithful Israelites were fiercely persecuted for their faith. We have seen how this was also true of the belief in the resurrection found in the pseudepigraphic and apocryphal writings contemporary with the Book of Daniel, and we have found this to be the case also of the doctrine in the Isaiah Apocalypse.

The resurrection doctrine was forged in the struggle for their faith, and the way was prepared for this belief through the conviction that the deep, personal and intimate fellowship with God which the pious enjoyed on earth, could not be broken by death. The way was prepared also by the faith that God, by his power and in his justice, would ultimately redress the imbalance in the sphere of retributive justice.

A not unimportant aspect of our investigation was the discovery that in certain passages, as well as in instances of actual resurrections or restorations of dead persons to life, death and Sheol were not beyond the scope of God's power. Each of these ingredients made its important contribution to the development of the idea of the resurrection which came into full bloom in the Book of Daniel. The words of D.S. Russell form a fitting climax to this Chapter and indeed of the entire Thesis:

The Book of Daniel...is to be dated in 165 B.C. during the reign of Antiochus Ephphanes under whose tyrannical rule many faithful Jews were done to death. The author was convinced that the triumph of God and his people was assured and that soon his kingdom would be established on the earth. He had encouraged his compatriots to stand firm in the sure hope of final triumph. But he had seen many of them martyred for their faith; together with the living they would share in the glories of the coming kingdom. On the other hand, there were Jews who had turned traitor and betrayed their fellows into the hand of the tyrant. Some of these had died without having paid the penalty of their wrong-doing. These, too, would be raised to receive their recompense. 77

At last the biblical writers had found that mould, as it were, into which they could pour their hopes

and longings and which alone could give real shape to the belief that man's fellowship with God would not be broken by death. 78

REFERENCES

- 1 Arthur Jeffery, 'The Book of Daniel', IB, Vol VI, p. 541. See also Martin Rist, 'Life, the Book of', IDB, Vol III, p. 130. Exodus 32::32-33; Ps 69::28; Is 4::3.
- 2 Isaiah 26::13-14.
- 3 Ezekiel 37. I agree with the common opinion that the symbolism here refers to the nation. Ezekiel is speaking of a national resurrection of Israel. See Herbert G. May, 'The Book of Ezekiel', IB, Vol VI, p. 266f; Norman Snaith, 'Life After Death', Interpretation, I (1947) 313. Larcher sees more than symbolism here, and he says in effect that the question which God put to Ezekiel, before the application of the symbolism, concerns the possibility of an actual resurrection. But we do not think that the context bears out this interpretation. See C. Larcher, 'La Doctrine de la Resurrection dans L'Ancien Testament', Lumiere et Vie, III (1952) 17.
- 4 Jeffery, op.cit., p. 543. See also Montgomery, op. cit. p. 471; Norman Porteous, Daniel, p. 171. Porteous does not elaborate on the meaning of this verse in respect of the pre-eminent righteous.
- 5 O.S. Rankin, Israel's Wisdom Literature, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1936, Reprinted by Schocken Books, N.Y. 1969, p. 131.
- 6 T.H. Gaster, 'Resurrection', IDB, Vol IV, pp 39-40.
- 7 Others who support the idea of Iranian influence are Norman Snaith, Art.cit., pp 318; and Harris Birkeland, 'The Belief in the Resurrection of the Dead in the Old Testament', Studia Theologia, I (1950), 74. "The decisive impulse to the real forming of that belief itself came from the Iranian Religion".
- 8 J.D.C. Pavry, The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life from Death to the Individual Judgement, Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, Vol. II, N.Y. 1926, p. 4; R.C. Zaehner, The Dawn and Twilight... p. 25.
- 9 Pavry, op.cit., p. 4; Zaehner, op.cit., p. 25.
- 10 Pavry, op.cit., p. 5; Zaehner, op.cit., p. 26. On the

- 11 Yt 22::1-6, 19-24; 24::53-54; Vd 19::28.
- 12 Yt 22::17-24, 25-32; 24::55-60; Vd 19::30.
- 13 According to Zaehner, the Chinvat Bridge figures prominently in later tradition, and on it the deeds of the soul are weighed in the balance of Rashnu, who is assisted by Mithra and Shraosha. There is no such role attributed to Rashnu in the Gathas. Zaehner, op.cit. p. 56. See also Pahlavi Rivayats 48::66, to which Zaehner refers in his note 103 to Chapter I; op.cit. p. 326.
- 14 Datastan Denik, 21::1-8. See Jackson, Zoroastrian Studies p. 147.
- 15 Yt 22::15-18; 3::3-4.
- 16 Yt 22::15; Ys 45::8; 30::14; 32::15; 46::16.
- 17 Yt 22::33-36; Vd 4::50-54.
- 18 Yt 19::88-90.
- 19 Fragment IV::1-3.
- 20 Ys 30::8-10; 33::1-2; 31::20; 43::4-6; 45::7-8, 10-11; 46::11.
- 21 Yt 19::92-96. For a treatment of the whole subject of the Zoroastrian Doctrine of life after death see Jackson, op.cit., pp 143-151; R.C.Zaehner, op.cit., pp 56-57, 302-321; Mary Boyce, op.cit., pp 109-129.
- 22 For references to sleep as death: Deut. 31::16; Psalm 13::3; Jeremiah 51::39, 57.
- 23 For references to dust as the grave or Sheol: Job 7::21; 17::16, 20::11; Psalms 7::5; 22::9; 104::29; Ecclesiastes 3::19-20; Isaiah 26::19; 29::4.
- 24 T.H. Gaster, 'Dead, The Abode of', IDB, Vol I, p. 787.

- 25 Kurt Schubert, 'Resurrection in Pre-Christian Times', Theology Digest, XII (1964) 205-205; P. Dhorme, 'Le Sejour des Morts Chez les Babyloniens et les Hebreux', Revue Biblique, IV (1908) 59-78; Walther Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament, Vol II, Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1967, pp 210-212.
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- 27 Vd: Fragarid VII::36-42.
- 28 On the concept of the unity of the body among the Hebrews, see Eichrodt op.cit., pp 147-150.
- 29 1 Samuel 31::10; Jeremiah 22::19; Amos 2::1. See D.S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1964, p. 354.
- 30 Walther Eichrodt, op.cit., p. 214.
- 31 Isaiah 14::9-10; Ezekiel 32::21-24.
- 32 D.S.Russell, op.cit., p. 355; T.H.Gaster, 'Dead, The Abode of', IDB, Vol I, p.787.
- 33 H.H.Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic, Lutterworth Press, London, Revised Edition, 1964, p. 55f.
- 34 T.H.Gaster, 'Resurrection', IDB, Vol IV, p.40.
- 35 On the hope of the Israelite in the Books of Proverbs, Job and Psalms, see Walther Zimmerli, Man and His Hope in the Old Testament, SCM Press, London, 1971, Chapters II and III, pp 12-41.
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- 42 Charles, op.cit., p. 235; Russell op.cit. p. 54; Eissfeldt, op.cit., p. 608; H.H.Rowley, op.cit., pp 90-105; S. Tedesche, 'Jubilees', IDB, Vol II, p 1002; George W. E. Nickelsburg Jr, Resurrection, Immortality and Eternal Life In Intertestamental Judaism, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, pp 46-47.
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VITA AUCTORIS

Rawlier Arnold Quammie, Minister of Religion.

Born in Dominica, British West Indies, August 15th 1932.

Educated in Dominica at the Portsmouth Government Elementary School, and the Dominica Grammar School.

Trained for the Methodist Ministry at the Union Theological Seminary, Kingston, Jamaica, West Indies, from 1958 to 1962. Obtained the Diploma of the Union Theological Seminary, and the Diploma in Theology of the University of London, Ordained in January 1965.

Ministered in Haiti from 1962 to 1969, and in Jamaica from 1969 to 1975.

Obtained the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity (Honours) of the University of London in 1971.

Joined the Ministry of the United Church of Canada in March 1975.